"All the News That's Fit to Print"

The New York Times

LATE EDITION

Today, a partly sunny sky will remain, high 78. **Tonight,** patchy clouds, low 56. **Tomorrow,** mostly sunny with a few clouds, high 71. Weather map appears on Page B6.

VOL. CLXXII .... No. 59,803 © 2023 The New York Times Company NEW YORK, MONDAY, MAY 29, 2023 $4.00

ERIN SCHAFF/THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Natural Gem, With a Little Human Help

Rangers at Bryce Canyon National Park in Utah get ready for a rush of visitors with tasks like restoring 78 miles of trails. Page A9.

NEWS ANALYSIS

Biden Seeks To Woo Allies On Debt Deal

Democrats Question Desire for Consensus

By PETER BAKER

WASHINGTON — After weeks of tense wrangling between the White House and House Republicans, the fiscal deal reached on Saturday to raise the debt ceiling while constraining federal spending bolsters President Biden's argument that he is the one figure who can still do bipartisanship in a profoundly partisan era.

But it comes at the cost of rankling many in his own party who have little appetite for meeting Republicans in the middle and think the president cannot stop himself from giving away too much in an eternal and ephemeral quest for consensus. And it will now test his influence over fellow Democrats he will need to pass the deal in Congress.

The agreement in principle that he reached with Speaker Kevin McCarthy represents a case study in governing for Mr. Biden's presidency, underscoring the fundamental tension of his leadership since the primaries in 2020 when he overcame progressive rivals to win the Democratic nomination. Mr. Biden believes in his bones in reaching across the aisle even at the expense of some of his own priorities.

He has shown that repeatedly since being inaugurated two and a half years ago even as skeptics doubted that cross-party accommodation was still possible. Most notably, he pushed through Congress a bipartisan public works program directing $1 trillion to building or fixing roads, bridges, airports, broadband and other infrastructure; legislation expanding treatment for veterans exposed to toxic burn pits; and an investment program to boost the nation's semiconductor industry, all of which passed with Republican votes.

This is not a moment, however, in which bipartisanship is valued in the way it was when Mr. Biden came up through the Senate in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. His desire to position himself as the leader who can bring together a deeply divided country is at the heart of his case for a second term next year. But it conflicts with the interests of many Democrats who see more political benefit in standing firm against former President Donald J. Trump's Republican Party and

Continued on Page A12

SELLING A DEAL The president and the speaker turn to the task of persuading Congress. PAGE A12

ERDOGAN SECURES A RUNOFF VICTORY TO STAY IN POWER

CLOSE RACE IN TURKEY

Surviving Inflation Woes and a Hard Challenge From the Left

By BEN HUBBARD

ISTANBUL — President Recep Tayyip Erdogan beat back the greatest political challenge of his career on Sunday, securing victory in a presidential runoff that granted five more years to a mercurial leader who has vexed his Western allies while tightening his grip on the Turkish state.

His victory means Mr. Erdogan could remain in power for at least a quarter-century, deepening his conservative imprint on Turkish society while pursuing his vision of a country with increasing economic and geopolitical might. He will be ensconced as the driving force of a NATO ally of the United States, a position he has leveraged to become a key broker in the war in Ukraine and to enhance Turkey's status as a Muslim power with 85 million people and critical ties across continents.

ALI UNAL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

President Recep Tayyip Erdogan Sunday in Ankara, Turkey.

Turkey's Supreme Election Council declared Mr. Erdogan the victor late Sunday. He won 52.1 percent of the vote; the opposition candidate Kemal Kilicdaroglu got 47.9 percent with almost all votes counted, the council said.

Mr. Erdogan's supporters shrugged off Turkey's challenges, including a looming economic crisis, and lauded him for developing the country and supporting conservative Islamic values.

In many Turkish cities on Sunday night, they honked car horns, cheered and gathered in public squares to watch the results roll in and await his victory speech. Thousands gathered outside the presidential palace in Ankara, waiving red and white Turkish flags.

"It is not only us who won, it is Turkey," Mr. Erdogan said, to raucous applause. "It is our nation that won with all its elements. It is

Continued on Page A6

Putin's Tactic For Winning: Keep Waiting

By ANTON TROIANOVSKI and PAUL SONNE

Pro-Ukrainian fighters stormed across the border into southwestern Russia last week, prompting two days of the heaviest fighting on Russian territory in 15 months of war. Yet President Vladimir V. Putin, in public, ignored the matter entirely.

He handed out medals, met the patriarch of the Russian Orthodox Church, hosted friendly foreign leaders and made televised small talk with a Russian judge about how Ukraine was not a real country.

In managing Russia's biggest war in generations, Mr. Putin increasingly looks like a commander in chief in absentia: In public, he says next to nothing about the course of the war and betrays little concern about Russia's setbacks. Instead, he is telegraphing more clearly than ever that his strategy is to wait out Ukraine and the West — and that he thinks he can win by exhausting his foes.

"There's no need for any illusions," said Natalia Zubarevich, an expert on Russian social and economic development at Moscow State University. Mr. Putin, she said, has laid the domestic groundwork to sustain the war for a "long, long, long, long, long" time.

But while Western analysts and officials believe that Mr. Putin's Russia does have the potential to keep fighting, his military, economic and political maneuvering room has narrowed, presenting obstacles to prosecuting a lengthy war.

Even as Mr. Putin refers to the

Continued on Page A5

After Tree of Life Attack, Tracking Threats in U.S.

A Network to Defend Against Antisemitic Violence

By CAMPBELL ROBERTSON

CHICAGO — In a dimly lit conference room on an upper floor of a Chicago midrise, an intricately detailed snapshot of American peril is being taken, minute by unsettling minute.

Reports from around the country — of gunshots, bomb threats, menacing antisemitic posts — flash across more than a dozen screens. A half-dozen analysts with backgrounds in the military or private intelligence are watching them, ready to alert any one of thousands of synagogues, community centers or day schools that appear to be at risk. Often, the analysts are the first to call.

This is the headquarters of the Secure Community Network, the closest thing to an official security agency for American Jewish institutions. There are other organizations that specialize in security for Jewish facilities, but none as broad as this group, which was created by the Jewish Federations of North America after 9/11. It has grown exponentially over the past five years, from a small office with a staff of five to a national organization with 75 employees stationed around the country.

What prompted its rapid expansion was the murder of 11 worshipers from three congregations by a hate-spouting gunman at the Tree of Life synagogue on Oct. 27, 2018, the deadliest antisemitic attack in American history.

The trial for the gunman, scheduled to begin on Tuesday at the federal courthouse in Pittsburgh, is taking place in a country that will be less shocked by any revelations than it might have been five years ago, given the prevalence now of mass shootings and incidents of antisemitism. The White House last week announced what it called the first-ever national strategy to counter antisemitism, involving multiple agencies and focusing on training and prevention.

But if Jews in America are less surprised by such incidents now, they have become, by grim necessity, far more vigilant.

The mass shooting in Pitts-

Continued on Page A13

JAMIE KELTER DAVIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Monitoring security threats in the operations command center at Secure Community Network.

So, Have You Heard the One About the Lawyer Using A.I.?

By BENJAMIN WEISER

The lawsuit began like so many others: A man named Roberto Mata sued the airline Avianca, saying he was injured when a metal serving cart struck his knee during a flight to Kennedy International Airport in New York.

When Avianca asked a Manhattan federal judge to toss out the case, Mr. Mata's lawyers vehemently objected, submitting a 10-page brief that cited more than half a dozen relevant court decisions. There was Martinez v. Delta Air Lines, Zicherman v. Korean Air Lines and, of course, Varghese v. China Southern Airlines, with its learned discussion of federal law and "the tolling effect of the automatic stay on a statute of limitations."

There was just one hitch: No one — not the airline's lawyers, not even the judge himself — could find the decisions or the quotations cited and summarized in the brief.

That was because ChatGPT had invented everything.

The lawyer who created the brief, Steven A. Schwartz of the firm Levidow, Levidow & Oberman, threw himself on the mercy of the court on Thursday, saying in an affidavit that he had used the artificial intelligence program to do his legal research — "a source

Continued on Page A14

In a Germany Uncertain About Its Refugees, One Rises to Mayor

Winning Over a Small, Conservative Town

By ERIKA SOLOMON

OSTELSHEIM, Germany — The beer was flowing, the bratwurst were sizzling and the brass band at the village May Day festival led the crowd in ever tipsier renditions of the local drinking song.

Clinking glasses all around was Ryyan Alshebl, a lanky, bearded 29-year-old from Syria.

Eight years ago, Mr. Alshebl was part of the historic influx of refugees who crossed the Mediterranean Sea by dinghy and trekked the continent on foot, seeking asylum in Germany and other countries.

Now he is the new mayor of Ostelsheim, a village of 2,700 people and tidily kept streets nestled in the rolling hills near the Black Forest in southwestern Germany.

Ostelsheim appears to be the first German town to elect a mayor from the nearly one million Syrian refugees who reached the country in 2015, a wave that provoked a right-wing backlash and upended the political landscape. And the story of how this small, tight-knit village chose a refugee as mayor holds clues for a nation wrestling with an ever more multicultural identity.

"If you look at our state elec-

Continued on Page A6

INTERNATIONAL A4-8

War 'Robbed Us of Our Art'

Dozens of Sudanese creatives have fled their studios and galleries, jeopardizing thousands of works left behind. PAGE A7

Encouraging Babies in India

The state of Sikkim, where the birthrate is the nation's lowest, is offering would-be parents cash incentives. PAGE A8

BUSINESS B1-4

Comfort in a Stray Selfie

The digital photos, texts, playlists and to-do lists we find after loved ones die offer glimpses into their lives, both predictable and surprising. PAGE B2

On Picket Lines Before Dawn

As the strike in Hollywood continues, some writers don't mind arriving early on set to help disrupt filming. PAGE B1

OBITUARIES D7-8

A Natural Chess Champion

Sultan Khan had little access to books on strategy, but he beat some of the world's top players. Overlooked. PAGE D8

NATIONAL A9-15, 18

Long-Widening Rift in Texas

The impeachment of the state's attorney general highlighted a growing conflict between moderates and hard-liners in the Republican Party. PAGE A18

'Scare Factor' for Drag Artists

Ahead of Pride Month, laws in Tennessee and other states have created a risky atmosphere, even as the measures are disputed in court. PAGE A15

Letting the Past Be the Past

New York lawmakers are considering a bill that would seal the records of those who finish their sentences and stay out of trouble for several years. PAGE A14

ARTS C1-6

Taylor Mania in New Jersey

Two months after it began, Taylor Swift's career-spanning Eras Tour arrived in the New York area. PAGE C5

Creating a Best Seller

Gabrielle Zevin is pleasantly surprised with the reaction her novel about video game developers has received. PAGE C1

SPORTS D1-6

War Touches French Open

Marta Kostyuk of Ukraine was booed after refusing to shake hands with Aryna Sabalenka of Belarus. PAGE D1

No Raining on His Parade

Max Verstappen didn't let wet conditions in Monaco keep him from his fourth Formula 1 win of 2023. PAGE D6

OPINION A16-17

Michelle Cottle PAGE A16

VISIT…

LANZAROTE Caliente.com

Inside The Times

The New York Times

A. G. SULZBERGER
Publisher

Founded in 1851

ADOLPH S. OCHS
Publisher 1896-1935

ARTHUR HAYS SULZBERGER
Publisher 1935-1961

ORVIL E. DRYFOOS
Publisher 1961-1963

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER
Publisher 1963-1992

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER JR.
Publisher 1992-2017

NEWS

JOSEPH KAHN
Executive Editor

MARC LACEY
Managing Editor

CAROLYN RYAN
Managing Editor

SAM DOLNICK
Deputy Managing Editor

MONICA DRAKE
Deputy Managing Editor

STEVE DUENES
Deputy Managing Editor

CLIFFORD LEVY
Deputy Managing Editor

MATTHEW ERICSON
Assistant Managing Editor

HANNAH POFERL
Assistant Managing Editor

SAM SIFTON
Assistant Managing Editor

KARRON SKOG
Assistant Managing Editor

MICHAEL SLACKMAN
Assistant Managing Editor

OPINION

KATHLEEN KINGSBURY
Opinion Editor

PATRICK HEALY
Deputy Opinion Editor

BUSINESS

MEREDITH KOPIT LEVIEN
Chief Executive Officer

DIANE BRAYTON
General Counsel

ROLAND A. CAPUTO
Chief Financial Officer

JACQUELINE M. WELCH
Chief Human Resources Officer

WILLIAM T. BARDEEN
Chief Strategy Officer

R. ANTHONY BENTEN
Chief Accounting Officer, Treasurer

ALEXANDRA HARDIMAN
Chief Product Officer

DAVID S. PERPICH
Publisher, The Athletic

JOY ROBINS
Global Chief Advertising Officer

DAVID RUBIN
Chief Brand and Communications Officer of The Times, and Publisher, Wirecutter

JASON SOBEL
Chief Technology Officer

HANNAH YANG
Chief Growth and Customer Officer

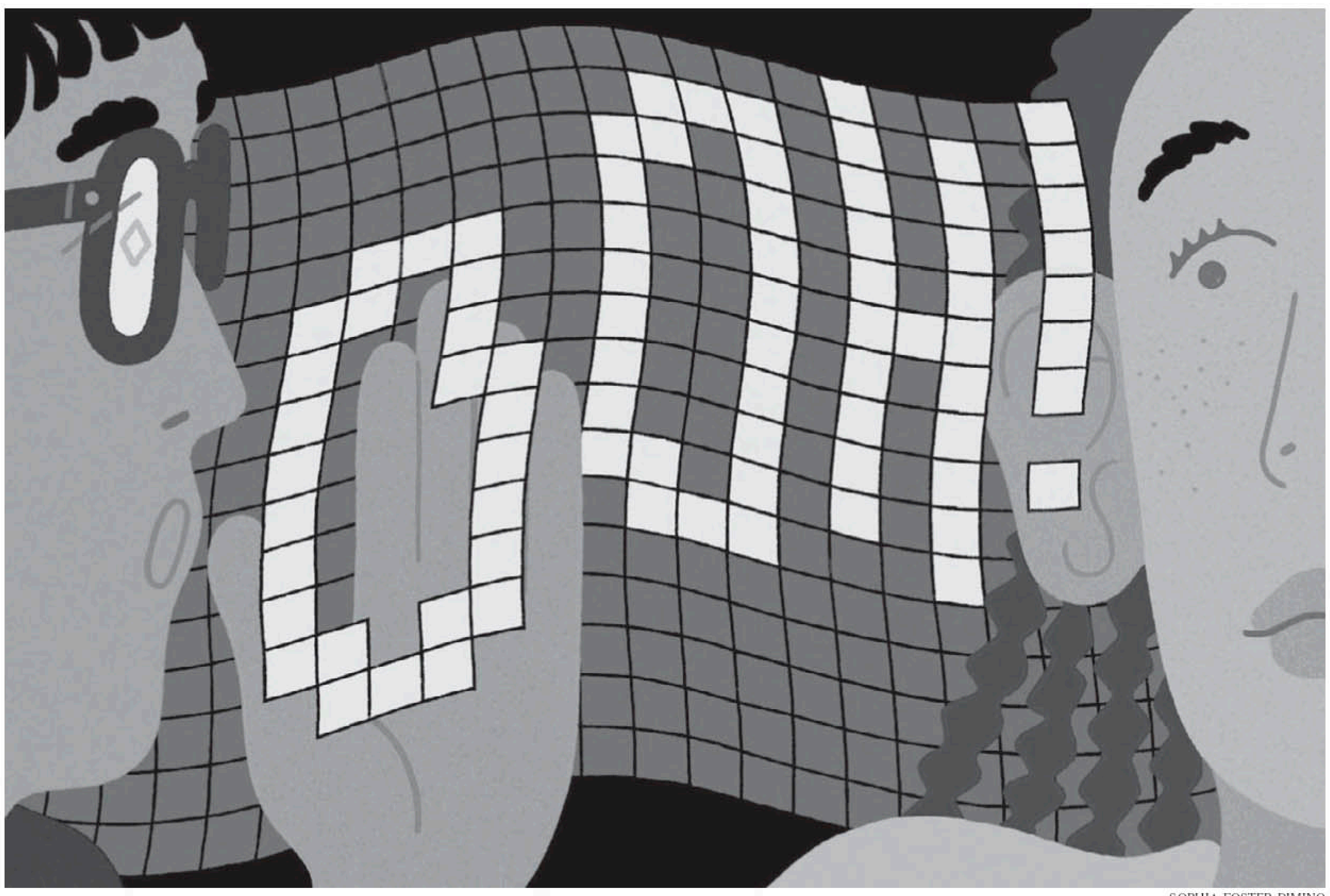
Contact the Newsroom
To contact the newsroom regarding correction requests, please email corrections@nytimes.com.

Submit a Letter to the Editor
letters@nytimes.com

Send a Confidential News Tip
Reach us through tools that will help protect your anonymity at nytimes.com/tips.

Contact Customer Care
customercare@nytimes.com or call 1-800-NYTIMES (1-800-698-4637)

The Story Behind the Story



SOPHIA FOSTER-DIMINO

A Scheme With a Theme for the Taking

In Wordplay, a Times columnist helps you solve the crossword puzzle. A warning: Spoilers for Monday's puzzle appear below.

By SAM CORBIN

As a Wordplay columnist, I am occasionally asked whether we write about the Mini, our smaller crossword offering. We don't, but I suspect that those asking are doing so in the hope of some official recognition from The New York Times that applauds them for being able to complete the Mini and validates their anxiety about not taking on the regular crossword (which is not called the Maxi, mind you).

Let me declare this: All efforts in puzzling are commendable. Far be it from me to suggest favoritism for one grid over another! But if you are a Mini enthusiast holding on for dear life to the crossword wall that you feel you have only just begun to scale, consider today's puzzle, constructed by Katie Hale and Zachary David Levy, as a grip positioned just overhead. All you have to do to solve it is reach your arm out — it's here for the taking.

TODAY'S THEME

Our themed entries are 16A, 23A, 38A, 47A and 60A. Have you already noticed what connects them? I hope so, because it's as whimsical as all get-out: They rhyme.

The "Longest side of a right triangle" (16A) is its HYPOTENUSE, which rhymes with a "Reckless way to play things" (23A), FAST AND LOOSE — both of which rhyme with the "Dessert made with cocoa and egg whites" (38A), CHOCOLATE MOUSSE, and so on.

In international phonetic notation, this rhyme sound is rendered as /u:s/ — made by closing the back of the throat and rounding the lips — which I mention only as a point of reference for solvers from around the world who may pronounce these words differently. Otherwise, that's all there is to it. And I mean that as a compliment.

TRICKY CLUES

18A. While this isn't a themed clue, it does happen to rhyme with its entry: The word for a "Funerary fire" is PYRE.

31A. Somehow, the Crossword manages to contribute more to my nautical education than any of the time I've actually spent on boats. To "Veer, as a ship" (about a vertical axis) is to YAW.

67A. As a collective noun, BEVY can refer to a "Large group of people or birds." In the case of birds, it's traditionally used for quail, but how can one resist the delightfully alliterative properties of a bevy of birds?

10D. To "Completely destroy" something is to LAY it TO WASTE. (That's how I measure a skirt, too — by laying it to *waist*.)

21D. You may have had to use your crosses to determine that the "Surreptitious gesture with the head" alluded to here was a SLY NOD.

47D. I am not a member of the mafia — though I guess I would never tell you if I were — so I didn't realize that "Off, in mobspeak" was WHACK.

55D. MIEN is a rather literary word for "Personal appearance" that may not come up often in conversation, but you can remember it as sharing roots with the word "demeanor."

SOLVING TIP: ABBREVIATIONS, ET AL.

There are many ways a clue can indicate an abbreviation, initialism or acronym. Here are a few from today's grid:

"In brief": At 44A, "Public prosecutors, in brief" tells us to abbreviate district attorneys to the plural initialism DAS. At 30A, "Sixpack units, in brief" leads us to the shortened ABS, as opposed to abdominal muscles.

Text-speak: 35D hints at an abbreviation with the use of the letter "u" in place of the word "you," suggesting texting slang. "If u ask me . . . " via text would be IMO (short for in my opinion).

Known abbreviations: Initialed names won't always be hinted at if they're already widely known. The "Cable channel that was launched with the words 'Ladies and Gentlemen, rock and roll' " at 61D is one we're more familiar with as MTV, rather than Music Television.

A NOTE FROM ONE OF THE CONSTRUCTORS

Zach and I had been trying to come up with a fun theme together for a while, but nothing was quite landing. One evening, I was taking my 6-year-old through some of her spelling words, which were all -OOSE words that week. I find a lot of inspiration through helping my kids with their homework, because seeing things written out in different ways can sometimes trigger an idea or connection that I may not have thought of before. Constructors who have kids: I highly recommend this as an extra incentive to check their homework! We originally had POOR EXCUSE in the theme set, but Zach (rightly) thought twice about that one, because of the "Y" sound on USE, and he redid the grid beautifully with HYPOTENUSE instead. Hope you all enjoy the puzzle! — *Kate Hale*

Play the Crossword on Page C3. To read more Wordplay columns, visit nytimes.com/wordplay.

The Newspaper and Beyond

TODAY'S PAPER

Crossword	C3	Weather	B6
Obituaries	D7-8	Classified Ads	D2
Opinion	A16-17		

LEARNING Students, what are your plans for the summer? Without school, you might be working, going on a trip or simply hanging out with friends. Tell the learning network what you'll be up to in a student opinion prompt. For more information, visit *nytimes.com/learning*.

TRAVEL Vancouver, British Columbia, is set before mountains and forests, and the gravity of its cultural life is shifting to the eastern parts of town. The Times's Travel desk has an itinerary for your visit to Canada's Pacific city. Read 36 Hours at *nytimes.com/travel*.

AUDIO Last week, the U.S. surgeon general warned that social media poses a "profound risk of harm" to children and adolescents. On the "Hard Fork" podcast, the hosts Kevin Roose and Casey Newton discuss why some in the tech industry disagree. *nytimes.com/hardfork*

Quote of the Day

"The artistic, creative ecosystem is going to be broken for a while."

AZZA SATTI, *a Sudanese art curator and filmmaker, about the effect of the war on the art scene in the capital city of Khartoum. Page A7.*

Today's Top Trending Headlines

White House and G.O.P. Strike Debt Limit Deal to Avert Default President Biden and House Speaker Kevin McCarthy reached an agreement on Saturday to lift the government's debt limit for two years. The Republican-controlled House of Representatives, where right-wing lawmakers demanded larger cuts to federal spending, will consider the deal on Wednesday.

Here's What Happens When Your Lawyer Uses ChatGPT A lawyer representing a man who sued an airline relied on artificial intelligence to help prepare a court filing. It did not go well. Relevant court decisions provided by ChapGPT never happened, but were an example of the "hallucinations" that users have received from the language model. Many online readers found this article on Twitter and Facebook.

Takeaways From the Impeachment of Texas Attorney General Ken Paxton Readers in Texas made up a large portion of the traffic to this article, which explained the extraordinary proceedings in the Texas Legislature. Republican state lawmakers voted overwhelmingly to impeach Attorney General Ken Paxton, a firebrand who is popular with voters. Lawmakers accused Mr. Paxton of many misdeeds, including giving special treatment to a friend and donor. He will be tried in the State Senate, where his wife, Angela Paxton, is a member.

An 11-Year-Old Boy Called 911. Police Then Shot Him. A lawyer for Aderrien Murry's family said his mother told him to call the police when her ex-boyfriend was disturbing their home in Indianola, Miss. A police officer responding to the call shot Aderrien in the chest after the boy rounded the corner following officers' commands, his mother said. Aderrien returned home after a hospital stay.

A Headline From History

EISENHOWER SPENDS $7.13 IN OLD-STYLE COUNTRY STORE

May 29, 1960. The Times published an article from United Press International that detailed President Dwight D. Eisenhower's surprise visit to Thomas Brothers Country Store near Gettysburg, Pa. Rained out from golf, Mr. Eisenhower, traveling with William E. Robinson, chairman of the Coca-Cola Company, said he had been sent to the store by his wife, Mamie, and went home with a crock of apple butter, dried corn, canned plums and other goods, according to the article. The store, which had opened in 1909, had items from its early days, including a giant coffee grinder that reminded the president of one he used to grind "by the hour" when he worked as a store clerk in his youth. "The owners were so excited," a reporter wrote, "they forgot to charge him 11 cents sales tax when he paid the bill."

THE NEW YORK TIMES COMPANY
620 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018-1405

The New York Times (ISSN 0362-4331) is published daily. Periodicals postage paid at New York, N.Y., and at additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to The New York Times, 620 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018-1405.

Mail Subscription Rates*	1 Yr.	6 Mos.
Daily and Sunday	$1196.00	$598.00
Monday-Saturday	1092.00	546.00
Sunday only	624.00	312.00
Times Book Review	$286.00	
Large Print Weekly	$166.40	

Higher rates, available on request, for mailing outside the U.S., or for the New York edition outside the Northeast: 1-800-631-2580.

*Not including state or local tax.

The Times occasionally makes its list of home delivery subscribers available to marketing partners or third parties who offer products or services that are likely to interest its readers. If you prefer that we do not share this information, please notify Customer Service, 620 Eighth Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10018-1405, or email help@nytimes.com.

All advertising published in The New York Times is subject to the applicable rate card, available from the advertising department. The Times reserves the right not to accept an advertiser's order. Only publication of an advertisement shall constitute final acceptance.

© 2023, The New York Times Company. All rights reserved.

A. G. Sulzberger, *Publisher*
Meredith Kopit Levien, *President and Chief Executive Officer*
R. Anthony Benten, *Treasurer*
Michael A. Brown, *Corporate Secretary*

Facts of Interest

Before Taylor Swift's concert at MetLife Stadium on Friday, security guards were cracking down on "Taylor-gating," — hanging out in the parking lot and listening to the concert without a ticket — which was not allowed.

Taylor Swift Touches Down In New Jersey C5

A 2020 study from Harvard Law School found that on the whole, adults whose criminal records had been expunged tended to reoffend less and earn more.

New York Could Purge Some Criminal Records A14

Sikkim state in India is the world's largest producer of black cardamom.

In Populous India, a State Is Offering Cash to Encourage More Babies A8

Horses spend almost all of their time on four feet, even when sleeping. Lying down for more than a few hours will cause muscle damage, restricted blood flow and blood pooling in the lungs.

Why Breaking a Leg Results In Euthanasia for Most Racehorses D2

At night, less than 1 percent of Bryce Canyon National Park in Utah is lit by artificial light, resulting in one of the darkest skies connected to a paved road in North America.

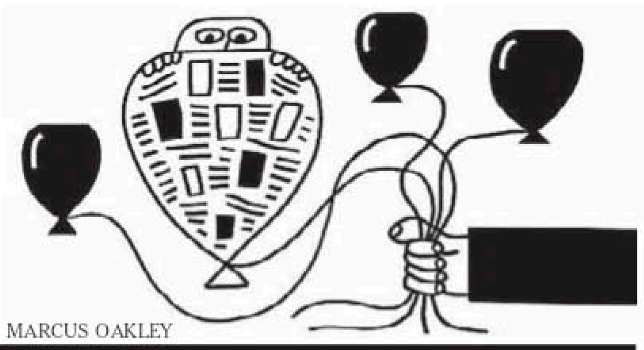
Making a National Park Picture-Perfect A9

It can take weeks for meningitis symptoms to appear, and once they do, they can quickly become severe and life-threatening, according to the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention.

North Mexico Has 2 Clinics Tied to Surge of Meningitis A7

No N.B.A. team has ever blown a 3-0 series lead dating to 1947.

Who Has Come Back After Being Down, 3-0? D3



MARCUS OAKLEY

Reader Corner

Tiny Love Stories

Tiny Love Stories, a Modern Love project, asks contributors to share their epic love stories in 100 words or less. Read one edited Tiny Love Story below.

The first time we met, all four young faces stared at me (photographed in the middle) with great uncertainty. My boyfriend's children, they ranged in age from 2 to 12. With time, the children and I stopped being strangers. Eventually, they accepted me. Soon, I began to love them. It has now been 13 years since their father and I split, but my relationship with them didn't break. Rather, it has grown stronger. I've been invited to a wedding and many graduations, and I'm always glad to be there. I was never their stepmother, but I am their family, just as they are mine.

CONNIE MINSKY

What to Watch in Politics

Key Takeaways From Washington and Across the Nation

SOPHIE PARK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida launched his presidential campaign with technical difficulties.

Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida had a glitch-marred start to his presidential campaign on Twitter last week. He joined a long line of politicians who have been beset by technical and logistical snafus, a bipartisan affliction. Neil Vigdor, a politics reporter at The Times, rounded up a few notable blunders from the past.

Jon Huntsman chose the Statue of Liberty as a backdrop for his 2011 debut as a Republican presidential candidate. He had to compete with air-traffic noise, and his first name was misspelled as "John" on media credentials. (Huntsman dropped out of the race seven months later.)

Walter Mondale rubbed elbows with folks at the 1984 Labor Day parade in New York City, but there was a problem with the optics: He marched early in the morning, before the big crowds. (Mr. Mondale lost 49 of 50 states to President Ronald Reagan.)

At the start of Bill Clinton and Al Gore's multistate bus tour in Manhattan in 1992, confetti clumped together in "bricks," an aide recalled. The convoy then had to stop to let off two or three homeless people who had wandered onto a bus. (Democrats still won the White House.)

Bob Dole was campaigning in Chico, Calif., in 1996 when a stage railing gave way. The Republican senator from Kansas fell to the ground. (His challenge of President Bill Clinton proved unsuccessful.)

It was more snow globe than political event. Amy Klobuchar announced her 2020 presidential candidacy in the middle of a 2019 winter storm. The Democratic senator from Minnesota framed it as a metaphor for her resolve. (Her party's nomination eluded her.)

The worst-case scenarios keep campaign veterans up at night. "How are you going to run the country," asked Jim Loftus, who did advance work for Bill Clinton and Barack Obama, "if you can't run an event?"

Read more at nytimes.com/politics.

The Mini Crossword

1	2	3	4	■
5				■
6				7
■	8			
■	9			

5/29/2023 BY JOEL FAGLIANO

ACROSS
1 Fiddle (with)
5 Reverberating sound
6 Element #5 with the symbol B
8 "Finding ___" (Pixar film)
9 Roost

DOWN
1 Month after Jan.
2 2023 N.C.A.A. men's basketball champs
3 This clue's number
4 Holds a remote meeting, in 2020s lingo
7 "___ so fast!"

SOLUTION TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

■	B	R	O	S
P	R	I	C	E
H	I	G	H	C
I	D	I	O	T
L	E	D	■	■

Here to Help

Vanessa Friedman Answers Your Style Questions

I am perplexed by the ripped jeans looks. What initially seemed to be a fad has now been popular for at least 10 years. Women wear them to dinner in upscale restaurants, as well as for doing yard work. Will this ever end? Is there an age limit? And if not, how do you wear ripped jeans with style?
CONNIE, MARBLEHEAD, MASS.

According to Glenn Martens, the creative director of Diesel, when Renzo Rosso, the brand's founder, introduced distressed denim back in the 1980s — "distressed" meaning ripped, faded and otherwise made to look old, even though the jeans were actually new — he sent a box of his jeans to retailers in Japan. The retailers sent them back. They thought he had made a mistake.

That was 40 years ago, and, as Mr. Martens pointed out, distressed styles have helped power Diesel's parent company to revenues of more than a billion euros last year. Why? Mr. Martens posits that they "symbolize disruption, empower the wearer and allow for the individualization of a core style."

Designers like Mr. Martens and Ev Bravado and Téla D' Amore of Who Decides War, the New York denim specialists, are currently transforming the whole idea of "distressed" into something of an art: patching, splicing, shredding and otherwise taking jeans to a place they've never been before.

To me, more and more, this is an American version of couture. It speaks of handwork, innovation and history (also sustainability, since a lot of this work is upcycled) and, because of that, they can be worn pretty much anywhere. Save, perhaps, the Oval Office.

That said, these pieces also make their mass-market cousins seem seriously inauthentic by comparison.

Part of the allure of distressed jeans was always the work and life told in the rips, somewhat like the way facial wrinkles are reflections of years of joy and sadness carved in the skin. Pre-torn jeans are like filler: They plump things up but never look quite right. To pay a premium for fake pre-aging is to take a shortcut, and while shortcuts can be seen as clever — you cheated nature! — they also lead to fashion-victim land.

Even Mr. Martens said, "I prefer my denim to distress naturally, starting as a classic pair and embracing the wear as it comes."

As to how best to wear it, he advises pairing shredded bottoms with a crisp, clean top or even a luxurious knit. Mr. Bravado and Ms. D'Amore also advise combining distressed denim with "an oversize blazer or leather jacket and playing with exaggerated proportions." It's the yin and yang balance that is the key.

Every week in the Open Thread newsletter — a look from across The Times at the forces that shape the dress codes we share — The Times's chief fashion critic, Vanessa Friedman, answers a reader's fashion-related question. Sign up for Open Thread at nytimes.com/newsletters.

MONICA RICH KOSANN

THE PLACES WE WILL GO
Hot Air Balloon Necklace - Designed in 18k Gold

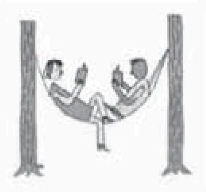
Please call 866.598.2784 or Visit Us at
MONICARICHKOSANN.COM

The Store

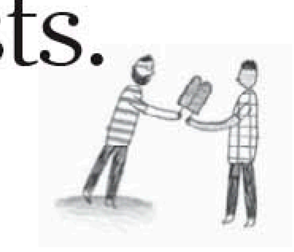
From Our Archives to Your Walls

Photography and illustration reprints at
store.nytimes.com

The New York Times



The joys.
The tribulations.
The twists.



Modern Love

Listen wherever you get your podcasts.
nytimes.com/mlpodcast

N

International

The New York Times

Russia Launches Record Barrage of Drones. Kyiv Fends Them Off.

By MARC SANTORA and ANDRÉS R. MARTÍNEZ

PHOTOGRAPHS BY NICOLE TUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Damage in Kyiv, Ukraine's capital, on Sunday. More than 40 drones were intercepted over the city, where one person was killed, most likely by falling debris.

Inside a building in Kyiv after the attack. The military said it had shot down 58 out of 59 Iranian-made Shahed-136 drones aimed at central Ukraine.

A tobacco factory in the capital was struck by falling debris. An official said the drones' path, including hugging rivers, was designed to evade radar.

Explosions echoed across Ukraine's capital for hours before dawn on Sunday as air defense teams raced to combat the largest swarm of Russian attack drones targeting Kyiv since the war began more than 15 months ago.

The Ukrainian Air Force said it had shot down 58 out of 59 Iranian-made Shahed-136 drones aimed at targets in central Ukraine, describing the number launched as a record.

More than 40 drones were intercepted over the capital, where city officials said at least one person had been killed and another injured, probably by falling debris.

As Ukraine draws closer to launching a counteroffensive aimed at reclaiming land lost in the first months of the war, Moscow has stepped up its assaults on Kyiv. The capital has been attacked 14 times this month by waves of Russian drones, cruise missiles and sophisticated ballistic missiles.

"This was the largest-ever drone attack on the capital since the beginning of the full-scale invasion, particularly using Shahed loitering munitions," the Kyiv military administration said in a statement.

Ukraine's complex air defense network has become adept at intercepting the Russian barrages, often shooting down the majority of the dozens of drones and missiles. The arrival this spring of the American-made Patriot system, the most advanced U.S. ground-based air defense system, has given it an added layer of protection. This month Ukrainian air defenses managed for the first time to shoot down some of the most sophisticated conventional weapons in Russia's arsenal, the hypersonic Kinzhal missiles, according to Ukrainian and American officials.

While nearly every assault on Kyiv in May has been thwarted, the attack on Sunday was the first to result in the loss of life.

One person died and another was hospitalized after debris from a downed drone hit a seven-story nonresidential building, the Kyiv military administration said in a statement. It said the roof of a shopping mall caught fire and a warehouse was set ablaze.

President Volodymyr Zelensky of Ukraine praised the work of Ukraine's air defense forces, calling them heroes.

"Every time you shoot down enemy drones and missiles, lives are saved," he wrote in a statement on the Telegram messaging app.

The assault on the capital came as Ukrainians prepared to mark the city's founding 1,541 years ago, a holiday traditionally celebrated on the last Sunday in May.

"The history of Ukraine is a longstanding irritant for complex Russians," Andriy Yermak, a senior adviser to Mr. Zelensky, said after the assault, vowing revenge.

Mykola Oleshchuk, the commander of the Ukrainian Air Force, said the "record number" of drones aimed at Kyiv were "gifts" from Russia on Kyiv Day but that air defense teams working through the night had probably saved hundreds of lives by ensuring "only fragments" remained by the time the assault ended.

Ukrainian officials were quick to note that Moscow has targeted the capital since the first days of the war, when they hoped to quickly seize Kyiv. The intensity of the assaults has ebbed and flowed — with Ukrainian officials saying that Russia is constantly trying to adapt its tactics.

In the latest attack, air alarms sounded in Kyiv at around 1 a.m. on Sunday as the first wave of Shahed-136 drones streaming toward the city was detected.

'Every time you shoot down enemy drones and missiles, lives are saved.'

VOLODYMYR ZELENSKY, Ukraine's president, praising his air defense forces.

"The routes of these aircraft were somewhat unconventional," Natalia Humeniuk, the spokeswoman for Ukraine's southern command, said in an appearance on national television.

"They tried to bypass the southern air defense as much as possible, as evidenced by the fact that they flew mainly over the temporarily occupied territories and then dispersed across Ukraine," she added, saying that the drones had hugged close to rivers in an attempt to evade radar.

The Ukrainian Air Force has explained how missiles and drones become less visible on radar the closer they press to the ground, which is one reason it is hard to shoot them down outside the Kyiv city limits.

Ukraine's most sophisticated air defense systems like the Patriot — which employs interceptor missiles that cost $4 million per shot — are largely reserved for countering Moscow's most sophisticated missiles. To counter the Iranian-made drones Russia has been launching, Ukraine has tended to rely on less-expensive weapons like antiaircraft guns and Stinger missiles.

At around 2 a.m., the skies above Kyiv lit up with tracer fire as the Ukrainian air defense teams took aim at the drones over the heart of the city.

While the drones themselves, with their distinctive triangular wing design, were often not immediately visible to civilians watching the battle in the sky, when the air defense teams found their target, the resulting explosion looked like a fireworks display.

For nearly five hours, explosions echoed across the capital until the last drone disappeared from Ukrainian radar.

FRONTLINE STRIKES Russian attacks on towns and cities closer to the front line continued. Ukrainian officials said Russian shelling of the city of Kherson in southern Ukraine injured at least one person. Russian fire killed at least one person in the town of Kostiantynivka in eastern Ukraine, the officials said. Nearly two dozen villages near the front in the southern region of Zaporizhzhia were hit in artillery attacks, injuring at least four civilians, local officials said. Russia also continued to shell towns and cities close to the border, killing two people in the Kharkiv region, local officials said.

DNIPRO DEATH TOLL Local officials said the death toll from a Russian missile strike on a medical facility in Dnipro on Friday had climbed to four. The authorities initially expressed hopes that people still listed as missing might be found alive.

"The three people who went missing during the missile attack on Dnipro have been found," the Dnipro military administration said in a statement on Sunday. "Unfortunately, they have been killed."

A 56-year-old doctor, a 64-year-old employee of the damaged medical facility and a 57-year-old employee of a neighboring veterinary clinic were among the victims.

BAKHMUT Combat has largely subsided in the city of Bakhmut in eastern Ukraine, with only one clash reported over the previous 24 hours, Serhiy Cherevaty, a spokesman for Ukraine's eastern forces, said Sunday on national television.

Russia now controls the shattered city after a bloody monthslong battle, and the Wagner mercenary group — whose fighters led much of the assault — appears to be following through on a pledge by its founder, Yevgeny V. Prigozhin, to withdraw from there. Mr. Cherevaty said that Russia was "rotating its troops, replacing Wagner" fighters with other units. That echoed an assessment from Britain's defense intelligence agency on Saturday.

Ukrainian officials have said Kyiv's forces had recaptured land on the northern and southern outskirts of Bakhmut. But Hanna Maliar, Ukraine's deputy minister of defense, said on Saturday that Ukraine had halted combat operations there for now.

Nataliia Novosolova and Matthew Mpoke Bigg contributed reporting.

At Least 3 Are Killed in Clashes On the Iranian-Afghan Border

By CHRISTINA GOLDBAUM

JIM HUYLEBROEK FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Helmand River, a critical source of drinking water and agriculture, is at the heart of tensions between Iran and Afghanistan over water rights.

At least three people were killed and several others injured after clashes broke out along the Iranian-Afghan border on Saturday night, according to Iranian state media and an Afghan official, escalating tensions between the two countries amid a heated dispute over water rights in recent weeks.

At least two Iranian border guards were killed in the fighting, which began around noon on Saturday and ended after six hours along the southwestern border of Afghanistan, according to Iranian state media and Afghan news reports. One soldier with the Taliban administration in Afghanistan was also killed, the Afghan Ministry of Interior said.

Officials from both countries accused the other of initiating the clashes. An official in southeastern Iran said that calm had returned to the border area on Saturday night, according to Iranian state media.

The skirmishes come amid rising political tension between the two countries over the flow of water from the Helmand River in Afghanistan into eastern Iran, a region that has been plagued by drought. The mouth of the river is along the border in southwestern Afghanistan and southeastern Iran, where the clashes took place.

In recent weeks, Iranian officials have accused the Taliban administration of violating a decades-old treaty between the two countries by restricting the flow of water out of Afghanistan, an accusation Taliban officials have denied.

The issue of water has been a flashpoint between Afghanistan and Iran for centuries. The two countries are bound by the Helmand River, the longest river in Afghanistan, which flows from the foothills of the Hindu Kush mountain range and feeds into wetlands along the country's border with Iran. The river is a critical source of drinking water, as well as agriculture and fishing, in southern Afghanistan and southeastern Iran.

In the 1940s and '50s, Afghan governments constructed two major dams along the Helmand River, giving Afghanistan the power to cut off the flow of water into Iran and alarming Iranian officials as the country experienced periods of intense drought. Though the two countries signed a treaty on sharing water resources in 1973, it was never ratified, and the flow of water from the river has remained a heated point of contention ever since.

Since the Taliban seized power in August 2021, the Iranian authorities have maintained relations with Afghanistan, and in February, Iran became one of a few foreign governments to accept Taliban-appointed diplomats in their country.

But this month, President Ebrahim Raisi of Iran warned the Taliban administration not to violate the terms of the 1973 water treaty and urged the Afghan government to allow Iranian hydrologists to check the river's water levels.

"We will not allow the rights of our people to be violated," Mr. Raisi said.

On Saturday morning, the Taliban administration's minister of foreign affairs, Amir Khan Muttaqi, met with Iran's top diplomat in Afghanistan, Hassan Kazemi Qomi, to discuss the water dispute, among other issues, according to Hafiz Zia Ahmad, the deputy spokesman for the Afghan Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

After the clashes broke out along the border, the Afghan Ministry of National Defense called for the two countries to reach a negotiated settlement.

"Making excuses for war and negative actions is not in the interest of any of the parties," the ministry said in a statement.

Safiullah Padshah contributed reporting.

For Putin, One Strategy For Winning the War Is to Keep Waiting It Out

From Page A1

fighting as distant "tragic events," the war keeps hitting home — with growing fissures in the military leadership, unease among the Russian elite and worrying signs for the economy as the West vows to further wean itself off Russian energy.

On the battlefield, Russia's ability to go on the offensive has shriveled as ammunition has run low and the monthslong battle for the eastern Ukrainian city of Bakhmut took thousands of soldiers' lives. Yevgeny V. Prigozhin, the leader of the Wagner mercenary group that led the assault on Bakhmut, said he was starting to pull his soldiers out of the city while releasing one profane tirade after another aimed at Russia's Kremlin-allied elites.

To mount a major new offensive, Western officials and analysts say that Mr. Putin would need to find new sources of ammunition — and impose a politically risky, second military draft to replenish his depleted troops. Still, the U.S. director of national intelligence, Avril D. Haines, told Congress this month that the chances that Mr. Putin would make any concessions in talks this year were "low," unless he were to feel a domestic political threat.

Western officials also remain concerned about the possibility that he could resort to nuclear weapons, but calculate that the risk is greatest if Mr. Putin is facing a catastrophic defeat that threatens his hold on power.

Russia's economy has proved flexible enough to adapt to Western sanctions, while government reserves have been sufficient to finance higher military spending and increased welfare payments. But the longer the war drags on, the likelier it is that the Kremlin would be forced into hard choices on cutting government spending or letting inflation surge.

Politically, some researchers argue that public support for the war in Russia is broad but shallow — capable of shifting quickly in response to unforeseen events. The incursions across the border last week brought the war into Russia in a way it had not before, stirring unease among military bloggers, who have a widespread following.

Then there is the wild card of Mr. Prigozhin, who has been morphing into a populist politician taking on top Russian officials, and who last week delivered a broadside against the strategy of waiting out the West.

In an hourlong video interview with a Russian blogger, Mr. Prigozhin described an unlikely "optimistic scenario" in which "Europe and America get tired of the Ukrainian conflict, China sits everyone down at the negotiating table, we agree that everything we've already grabbed is ours."

The more likely scenario, Mr. Prigozhin asserted, is that Ukraine pushes Russian troops back to prewar lines and threatens the Crimean peninsula — the crown jewel among Mr. Putin's Ukrainian land grabs.

Western analysts and officials doubt that Ukraine's upcoming counteroffensive can deliver a knockout blow. At the same time, they say that Russia's ability to wage the war is steadily degrading, as evidenced by tens of thousands of casualties in Bakhmut and the sharp decline in the number of shells that Russian forces are firing per day in eastern Ukraine compared with the height of the battle last year.

"It's not as if the Russians will suddenly stop being able to wage a war," said Max Bergmann, a former State Department official now at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington. "The question is can they still wage it with any sort of intensity."

But Mr. Putin is not betraying any public sense of urgency.

He remains isolated in his pandemic-era cocoon, requiring Russians who meet with him to quarantine for days.

Mr. Putin seldom goes into detail about the course of the war, even as he sits in lengthy televised meetings on topics like interethnic relations. So banal was the discussion that an Armenian civic leader told Mr. Putin that his group had sent "300,000 chocolate bars with raisins and nuts" to eastern Ukraine.

Instead, he often speaks of the war he ordered as a phenomenon outside of his control. In televised remarks to businesspeople on Friday, he referred to "today's tragic events." His silence regarding the dramatic two-day incursion into Russia last week was a shift from his reaction to a smaller such strike in March, when he called off a trip and denounced the episode as a "terrorist" attack.

NICOLE TUNG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Destroyed Russian military vehicles in Kharkiv, Ukraine. President Vladimir V. Putin of Russia has referred to distant "tragic events."

Saying next to nothing about the conflict or Russia's setbacks.

When he does discuss Ukraine, his remarks are heavy on distorted history — as if to tell the world that no matter what happens on the ground, Russia is destined to control the country. On Tuesday, the Kremlin released footage of Mr. Putin meeting with Valery Zorkin, the chairman of Russia's Constitutional Court, who brought with him a copy of a 17th-century French map of Europe. "There's no Ukraine" on the map, Mr. Zorkin tells Mr. Putin.

Mr. Putin then falsely asserts that before the Soviet Union was formed, "there was never any Ukraine in the history of humanity."

Some Russian officials are already looking ahead to next year's presidential election in the United States, hinting that a Republican victory could turn the tide. Dmitri A. Medvedev, the former Russian president and the vice chairman of Mr. Putin's security council, said last week that "the main thing" was that President Biden not be re-elected.

Former President Donald J. Trump, who is the early front-runner for the Republican presidential nomination, "is a good guy," Mr. Medvedev said, and, "historically, it was always easier to work with the Republicans."

But there are risks to Mr. Putin's wait-and-see approach beyond the possibility of a battlefield breakthrough by Ukraine. Tatiana Stanovaya, a senior fellow at the Carnegie Russia Eurasia Center, argues that Mr. Putin's "tactic of inaction" could raise the influence of hard-liners like Mr. Prigozhin.

"Russia's elites are liable to see defeatism in inaction," she wrote this month. "Already, Putin is struggling to explain what exactly he is waiting for."

The durability of Russian public support for the war — like the economic stability that helps underpin it — is far from clear.

But some researchers and American officials believe that cracks in pro-war sentiment have already begun to show because of heavy casualties.

A recent report from a group of Russian sociologists, based on scores of in-depth interviews, argues that Russians see the war as "a natural disaster" they cannot do anything about, rather than as something they are firmly convinced is right.

"This support is not built on fundamental political positions or some ideological views," said Sasha Kappinen, one of the report's authors, who uses a pseudonym for security reasons because she works at a university in Russia. "This is not stable support."

Russia has spent heavily to placate the general public since the war began, increasing welfare payments and easing the burden on small businesses. Its economy has adapted to sanctions, benefiting from the numerous countries outside North America and Western Europe that continue to do brisk trade with Russia.

Ms. Zubarevich, the Moscow economic development expert, said the government had the capacity to keep spending at its current clip at least until the presidential election next March, when Mr. Putin, 70, is expected to run for a fifth term. But a fall in the price of oil could force the government to cut spending on things like infrastructure.

"The two sacred cows are state defense procurement and support for low-income groups and pensioners," she said, referring to the need to satisfy key constituencies. "They will be kept in place for as long as possible."

At the same time, analysts and Russians who know Mr. Putin still see him as fundamentally flexible and opportunistic — a man who would probably accept a freeze in the fighting if it were offered, even as he prepares to fight on for years. As a result, well-connected people in Moscow see an unpredictable future while girding for a long war.

"Putin's spectrum of options is pretty broad," a prominent businessman in Moscow said, "from doing a cease-fire today to fighting a hundred-year war."

Julian E. Barnes and Oleg Matsnev contributed reporting.

Erdogan Secures a Runoff Victory to Stay in Power for Another 5 Years

From Page A1

our democracy."

Mr. Kilicdaroglu told his supporters that he did not contest the vote count but that the election overall had been unfair, nevertheless. In the run-up to the vote, Mr. Erdogan tapped state resources to tilt the playing field in his favor.

During his 20 years as the country's most prominent politician — as prime minister beginning in 2003 and as president since 2014 — Mr. Erdogan has sidelined the country's traditional political and military elites and expanded the role of Islam in public life.

Along the way, he has used crises to expand his power, centering major decision making about domestic, foreign and economic policy inside the walls of his sprawling presidential palace. His political opponents fear that five more years at the helm will allow him to consolidate power even further.

Mr. Erdogan has offered few indications that he intends to change course in either domestic affairs or in foreign policy.

Mr. Erdogan's unpredictability and frequent tirades against the West left officials in some Western capitals wondering whose side he was on in the war in Ukraine and privately hoping he would lose.

The Turkish leader condemned the Russian invasion of Ukraine last year, but refused to join Western sanctions to isolate President Vladimir V. Putin and instead increased Turkish trade with Moscow. He calls Mr. Putin "my friend" and has hampered NATO efforts to expand by delaying the admission of Finland and still refusing to admit Sweden.

During his campaign, Mr. Erdogan indicated that he was comfortable with his stance on Ukraine. He described Turkey's mediation at times between the conflict's warring parties as "not an ordinary deed." And he said he was not "working just to receive a 'well done' from the West," making clear that the desires of his allies will not trump his pursuit of Turkey's interests.

Mr. Erdogan operates on the understanding that "the world has entered the stage where Western predominance is no longer a given," said Galip Dalay, a Turkey analyst at Chatham House, a London-based research group.

That view has led regional powers like Turkey to benefit from ties with the West even while engaging with American rivals like Russia and China. The idea is that "Turkey is better served by engaging in a geopolitical balance between them," Mr. Dalay said.

SERGEY PONOMAREV FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Supporters of President Recep Tayyip Erdogan on Sunday in Istanbul. "It is not only us who won, it is Turkey," he said in a speech.

Critics accuse Mr. Erdogan of pushing Turkey toward one-man rule. Election observers said that while this month's voting was largely free, he used state resources and his sway over the news media to gain advantage, making the wider competition unfair.

Still, his opponents came closer to unseating him than ever before, and many expect he will try to prevent them from ever being able to do so again.

"Winning this election will give him ultimate confidence in himself, and I think he will see himself as undefeatable from now on," said Gulfem Saydan Sanver, a political consultant who has advised members of the opposition. "I think he will be more harsh on the opposition."

Mr. Erdogan's victory did not come easy.

Heading into the first round of voting on May 14, he faced a new coalition set on unseating him by backing a single challenger, Mr. Kilicdaroglu. Most polls suggested that the president's popularity had been eroded by a painful cost-of-living crisis that had shrunk the budgets of Turkish families and that he could even lose.

Mr. Erdogan's government also faced criticism that it had failed to respond quickly after powerful earthquakes in February killed more than 50,000 people in southern Turkey. But in the end, the disaster did not effect the election much.

Mr. Erdogan campaigned fiercely, meeting with earthquake victims, unleashing billions of dollars in government spending to insulate voters from double-digit inflation and dismissing Mr. Kilicdaroglu as unfit to herd sheep, much less run the nation.

In fiery speeches, Mr. Erdogan charmed his supporters with songs and poetry and painted his opponents as soft on terrorism.

Although he fell short of the majority required to win outright in the first round, Mr. Erdogan came out in the lead with 49.5 percent of the vote to Mr. Kilicdaroglu's 44.9 percent, sending them to a runoff.

Over the years, Mr. Erdogan has merged himself with the image of the state, and he is likely to keep leveraging Turkey's position between the West, Russia and other countries to enhance his geopolitical clout.

His relations with Washington remain prickly.

Mr. Erdogan's interior minister, Suleyman Soylu, accused the United States of a "political coup attempt" to unseat Mr. Erdogan during the campaign. As evidence, Mr. Soylu cited comments from President Biden's own campaign, in which he criticized Mr. Erdogan as an "autocrat" and said the United States should support Turkey's opposition.

Diplomats acknowledge that Mr. Erdogan's ties to both Russia and Ukraine allowed him to mediate an agreement on the export of Ukrainian grain via the Black Sea as well as prisoner swaps between the warring parties.

Recently, Mr. Erdogan has worked to patch up relations with former regional foes, including Israel, Egypt and the United Arab Emirates, in order to cool tensions and stimulate trade. After conciliatory moves by Turkey, Saudi Arabia deposited $5 billion in Turkey's central bank in March, helping shore up its sagging foreign currency reserves.

The Turkish leader has said he might meet with President Bashar al-Assad of Syria after years of supporting anti-Assad rebels. The goal: speeding the return of some of the millions of Syrian refugees in Turkey, a key demand of Turkish voters.

Mr. Erdogan, the son of a ferry captain who grew up in a tough Istanbul neighborhood and dreamed of playing professional soccer, retains the deep devotion of many Turks, who credit him with developing the country. Swift economic growth in the 2000s lifted millions of Turks out of poverty and transformed Turkish cities with new highways, airports and rail lines.

Mr. Erdogan also expanded the space for Islam in public life.

Turkey is a predominantly Muslim society with a secular state, and for decades women who wore head scarves were barred from universities and government jobs. Mr. Erdogan loosened those rules, and conservative women vote for him in large numbers.

He also has a habit of making smokers he encounters promise to quit — and getting it in writing. In March, his office displayed hundreds of cigarette packs signed by the people Mr. Erdogan had taken them from, including his own brother and a former foreign minister of Bulgaria.

Musa Aslantas, a bakery owner, listed what he considered Mr. Erdogan's most recent accomplishments: a natural gas discovery in the Black Sea, Turkey's first electric car and a nuclear power plant being built by Russia.

"Our country is stronger thanks to Erdogan," said Mr. Aslantas, 28. "He can stand up to foreign leaders. He makes us feel safe and powerful. They can't play with us like they used to."

Over the past decade, Mr. Erdogan has deftly used crises to expand his authority.

He responded to street protests against his rule in 2013 by restricting freedom of expression and assembly and jailing organizers. After surviving a coup attempt in 2016, he purged the civil service and judiciary, creating openings for his loyalists. The next year, Mr. Erdogan pushed for a referendum that moved much of the state's power from the Parliament to the president — meaning him.

Over time, he has extended his sway over the news media. The state broadcaster gives him extensive positive coverage, and critical private outlets have been shuttered or fined, leading others to self-censor.

But Mr. Erdogan's most immediate challenge could be the economy.

His insistence on lowering interest rates has exacerbated inflation that peaked at more than 80 percent annually last year, economists say, and expensive moves he made before the election added to the state's bills and depleted the central bank's foreign currency reserves. Without a swift change of course, Turkey could soon face a currency crisis or recession.

Economic trouble could lead more voters to seek change in the future, assuming Mr. Erdogan's foes can overcome their disappointment and mount another challenge.

"Erdogan has clear vision of what he wants for the country, and he has had that vision since he was very young," said Selim Koru, an analyst at the Economic Policy Research Foundation of Turkey. "What people like about him is that he has not really compromised on that."

Safak Timur and Elif Ince contributed reporting from Istanbul.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY INGMAR NOLTING FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Ryyan Alshebl, center, at a May Day festival in Ostelsheim, Germany, where he will take office as mayor next month. "He drinks beer with us," a resident said. "Little things like that have a big impact."

In a Germany Uncertain About Refugees, One Settles In and Rises to Mayor

From Page A1

tions, Ostelsheim is the kind of place that votes so conservatively. I thought it was going to be very, very tough for him," said Yvonne Boeckh, a tax accountant, shouting over a rowdy polka number at the festival. "It's just remarkable."

When Mr. Alshebl reached Germany with a college degree in banking, politics was hardly on his mind. Alone without his parents, who stayed behind in Syria, he threw himself into his new world and its traditions. Yet like many of the 2015 refugees, now gaining citizenship and building new lives, he never wanted to hide where he came from or apologize for it. And he rejected Germany's old notions of integration.

"Integration was a term that meant: We have a group of people that we need to find a way to teach some of the language and get them working," he said. "And what kind of jobs? To work for the baker, the butcher, the shoemaker. But not to become mayor."

The 2015 refugees were welcomed at first with an exuberant "Wilkommenskultur" — and former Chancellor Angela Merkel's famous line, "we can do it." But wariness among parts of the population was leveraged by the far right, which became a force in German politics. That trend has regained momentum — even pushing mainstream politicians into harsher positions — as the numbers of people seeking asylum are again rising.

A leader of Germany's center-right Christian Democrats recently argued for removing Germany's constitutional commitments to offer asylum. Today, more than half of Germans polled believe the disadvantages of immigration outweigh the advantages.

Yet a majority of 2015 refugees have successfully found jobs and learned the language. And some have not simply integrated but become leaders. For these newcomers, however, electoral success has been more elusive — even in large, multicultural cities like Berlin.

Another Syrian refugee ran in the capital as a Green Party candidate for the federal Parliament in autumn 2021. He faced death threats, was attacked at a subway stop and ultimately withdrew his candidacy.

Mr. Alshebl's journey from Syria began in Sweida Province, where his middle-class family was passionate about politics but kept their conversations secret. When President Bashar al-Assad's authoritarian government drafted him into the Army, he fled the country.

Joining him was a friend, Ghaith Akel, a jovial tech engineer. The two 21-year-olds escaped to Turkey and spent eight nerve-racking hours on a rubber boat in the Mediterranean. They journeyed by train, bus and foot across Europe to reach Germany.

German officials sent the pair to the town of Althengstett, next door to Ostelsheim, in the rural Swabia region, where many people work in agriculture or the region's famous auto industry. At first, they found the locals — mostly white Germans, with heavy regional dialects — daunting.

"They put up boundaries," Mr. Akel said. "You have to get past each and every one of those barriers to reach them. Anything new or strange, they find worrisome — 'he's not blond, he doesn't speak Swabian dialect.'"

Eventually, they discovered the key to gaining acceptance by the community. They joined the local clubs.

Mr. Alshebl volunteered at the recreation center. When a leadership position organizing games opened up, he ran.

"People could have said, 'No, we can't have this Syrian guy who doesn't know anything about this place,'" he said. "But they gave me a chance."

That experience rekindled his interest in politics. He vowed to perfect his German, enrolled in a vocational program for government administration and applied for an internship at the Althengstett town council. Eventually, the Althengstett mayor, Clemens Götz, hired him.

Mr. Alshebl also learned to appreciate the local food.

Ulrich Gellar, an Ostelsheim retiree, beamed at Mr. Alshebl's enjoyment of spaetzle, a cheesy noodle dish, and maultaschen, the local dumplings. "And he drinks beer with us," he said. "Little things like that have a big impact."

When Mr. Alshebl heard about Ostelsheim's mayoral race last winter, Mr. Götz encouraged him to run. The main rival was a wealthy Ostelsheimer, with three children and a large family home.

Mr. Akel, Mr. Alshebl's friend, was nervous for him. "It's a small village," he said, adding, "Their views on refugees are not always the nicest."

But Mr. Akel helped his friend campaign, with a simple strategy: Talk to everyone.

Mr. Alshebl not only went door to door, he put up advertisements offering house calls on request.

Sipping beers at the May Day celebration, locals recalled how intently he listened. Mothers unburdened complaints about day care shortages. Seniors were impressed by his familiarity with their retirement home grievances. For the first time since anyone could remember, a mayoral campaign energized the village.

Not everyone was friendly. On local news websites, some readers posted comments asking how anyone could vote for a refugee. One family confronted Mr. Alshebl with news reports of refugees committing vandalism elsewhere in Germany. Others spread rumors that he would impose Islamic Shariah law.

Friends in Ostelsheim urged Mr. Alshebl to advertise that he was not Muslim; he is from Syria's minority Druze sect. But he refused: "I didn't want to stigmatize Muslims." On election night, he won decisively — with his biggest support from Ostelsheim's oldest, most conservative residents.

Rainer Sixt, the head of the band that played during the May Day festival, insisted the surprise victory made sense. "The values in some places abroad, like tradition and home, are more like here in the countryside than in our own big cities," he said.

After the celebration, Mr. Alshebl visited his mentor, Mr. Götz, and his wife, Isabel. It was funny, they agreed, how long it has taken Germany to embrace an identity as a country of immigrants; since the 1950s, it has taken in Turkish guest workers, Balkan civil war refugees and Eastern Bloc exiles.

"This was long the reality in Germany," Ms. Götz said. "Only now, the public finally became aware that Germany is not the same thing it was before."

Sipping his coffee, Mr. Alshebl grinned mischievously: "Or, at least, not since the election in Ostelsheim."

Mr. Alshebl, who officially starts his new job next month, now straddles two worlds — a comfortable one in Germany, and his family's life in Syria, where they struggle to survive in a country ravaged by 12 years of war.

"Everything OK?" he asked his mother recently, quickly picking up her call in his office.

"We're all fine — just waiting for the electricity, like always," she said. The divergence of their paths is palpable. Mr. Alshebl throws German words into the conversation, often oblivious to his family's confusion.

He compares his life with that of Syrian friends who have resettled in cosmopolitan German cities. There, they can create a community, set up shops to buy familiar foods and speak Arabic together.

But driving past Ostelsheim's charming stone buildings, Mr. Alshebl mused that he was elected mayor not in spite of his community — but because of it.

"Maybe the only place you can become a mayor as a refugee is actually in a conservative country town," he said. "Because to live here, you have to be a part of them."

'Inside the war, the physical war, there's another war for art.'

ELTAYEB DAWELBAIT, a veteran Sudanese artist based in Nairobi, Kenya.

KHADIJA FARAH FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Sudan's War 'Robbed Us of Our Art and Our Peace'

As Fighting Persists, Creatives Lament the Loss of Their Emerging Arts Scene

By ABDI LATIF DAHIR

NAIROBI, Kenya — On the morning Sudan's rival military forces began fighting, Yasir Algrai was in his studio in the center of the country's capital, prepping for another day of work surrounded by paint colors and canvases.

That was on April 15 — and in the three days that followed, Mr. Algrai remained trapped in his studio, starving and dehydrated as battles raged outside his door on the streets of Khartoum.

For hours every day, he cowered in terror as bullets pierced the windows of the building and the walls shook from errant shelling. When a small period of quiet to escape materialized, Mr. Algrai was eager to seize it — albeit with a heavy heart.

"I could not carry any of my art or personal belongings," said Mr. Algrai, 29, who got out, but left behind his favorite guitar and more than 300 paintings of different sizes. "This conflict has robbed us of our art and our peace, and we are now left trying to stay sane in the midst of displacement and death."

Mr. Algrai is among dozens of Sudanese artists and curators who have fled their studios and galleries as two warring generals lay waste to one of Africa's largest and most geopolitically important countries.

The conflict, pitting the Sudanese Army controlled by Gen. Abdel Fattah al-Burhan and the paramilitary Rapid Support Forces led by Lt. Gen. Mohamed Hamdan, has killed hundreds, displaced over a million people and left more than half the country's population in need of urgent humanitarian assistance.

Amid the freewheeling violence, many fear that the war will devastate the city's burgeoning art scene, propelled primarily by young artists who emerged from the 2019 pro-democracy revolution and who were beginning to gain regional and global attention.

A dozen Sudanese artists and curators in Sudan, Egypt and Kenya told The New York Times that they had no idea about the fate of their homes, studios or gallery spaces, which cumulatively housed artworks worth hundreds of thousands of dollars.

"The artistic, creative ecosystem is going to be broken for a while," said Azza Satti, a Sudanese art curator and filmmaker. Artists, she said, "saw the people's need to express themselves, to feel alive, to feel recognized," adding that the war was gradually leading to "the erasure of that voice, that identity."

Some of the fiercest fighting in the capital has unfolded in neighborhoods like Khartoum 2, where the city's newest art galleries are based, or bustling districts like Souk al-Arabi, where Mr. Algrai kept his studio. Robberies and looting are rampant in those areas, with residents blaming the paramilitary forces who have steadily tightened their grip on the capital.

With museums and historical buildings attacked and damaged in the fighting, many are also concerned about the pillaging of the country's artistic riches and archaeological sites.

HEBA KHAMIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

'We never imagined this would happen.'

DAHLIA ABDELILAH BAASHER, a self-taught artist.

HEBA KHAMIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

'The hub of the art scene in Sudan is under a serious attack.'

RAHIEM SHADAD, co-founder of The Downtown Gallery in Khartoum.

The Sudan Natural History Museum and archives at the Omdurman Ahlia University have both experienced significant damage or looting, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization said in a statement.

"Inside the war, the physical war, there's another war for art," said Eltayeb Dawelbait, a veteran Sudanese artist who is based in Nairobi. Mr. Dawelbait has several pieces in Sudanese galleries and said he feared Sudan's artistic and cultural institutions would be pilfered much like what happened in Iraq two decades ago.

"The artwork needs to be protected," he said.

After the country's 1956 independence from the United Kingdom and Egypt, Sudan had a bustling art scene that produced renowned artists, including Ahmed Shibrain, Ibrahim El-Salahi and Kamala Ibrahim Ishag. But in the three decades that the dictator Omar Hassan al-Bashir held power, he used censorship, religious decrees and imprisonment to limit creative expression, forcing many artists and musicians to flee the country.

That began to shift during the 2019 revolution, when young artists poured into the streets to paint murals on walls and roads and call for democratic rule. When Mr. al-Bashir was eventually removed from power in April of that year, artists reveled in their newfound freedoms and began painting and sculpting to capture life in post-revolution Sudan.

Among them was Dahlia Abdelilah Baasher, a 32-year-old self-taught artist who quit her job as an art teacher after the revolution in order to work full-time on her art. Ms. Baasher's figurative paintings examine the repression that women face in Sudanese society, and over the years, her pieces have attracted the attention of curators and art custodians from Sudan, Egypt, Kenya and the United States.

Days before Sudan's war broke out in April, she and her family went to Egypt for the last days of the holy month of Ramadan and the following Eid holiday. Ms. Baasher packed several small paintings for the trip with the hope of selling them, but left more than two dozen large canvases at home.

"I cannot put into words or onto a canvas how I feel about this war," Ms. Baasher said in a video interview from Cairo. With her apartment building and neighborhood in Khartoum deserted, she said she didn't know the fate of any of her belongings.

"We are all just shocked and traumatized," she said. "We never imagined this would happen and that we would lose the art movement we have been building."

Her pain was shared by Rahiem Shadad, who in the heady, post-revolution days co-founded The Downtown Gallery in Khartoum.

Mr. Shadad, 27, works with more than 60 artists across Sudan, and was planning a solo show in Khartoum for Waleed Mohamed, a 23-year-old painter. Mr. Shadad had also just finished curating and shipping artworks for an exhibition scheduled to travel abroad titled "Disturbance in The Nile." The show, which starts in late June, will tour Lisbon, Madrid and Paris and feature Sudanese artists from various generations.

But since the fighting broke out, Mr. Shadad has focused solely on ensuring the safety of the artists and their artwork.

Hundreds of paintings and framed artworks are stuck in the Downtown Gallery in Khartoum 2. The conflict has also drained the savings of many artists and denied them a regular income, which largely stemmed from sales to foreign nationals and embassy officials who have now been evacuated.

To help artists and their families, Mr. Shadad, along with Sudanese curators like Ms. Satti, started a crowdfunding campaign this month. They are also mulling over how to transport artists' works to safety once relative calm takes hold in Khartoum. Despite a seven-day cease-fire scheduled to expire on Monday, Mr. Shadad said he had been told about robberies and harassment of civilians who venture back to the area near his gallery.

"The hub of the art scene in Sudan is under a serious attack," Mr. Shadad, crying, said in a phone interview from Cairo. "It is extremely emotional thinking that the hard work that we have done will just be lost."

For many artists, the conflict has also denied them access to their source of inspiration.

Khalid Abdel Rahman, whose work depicts landscapes of Khartoum neighborhoods and Sufi tombs, fled his studio in Khartoum 3 without his paintings and says he's been thinking about how the conflict will affect his vision and future creations.

"I can't figure it out now," he said. "I'm really sad about this."

But amid the death and displacement that has enveloped Sudan, artists say this is another period in the nation's history that they will have to document one way or another.

"This is an era that we must carefully study so that we can pass it on to future generations and introduce them to what happened to the country," Mr. Algrai, who is staying in a village east of Khartoum, said.

"The passion will never die."

North Mexico Has 2 Clinics Tied to Surge Of Meningitis

By AMANDA HOLPUCH

Two people in the United States have died with probable cases of fungal meningitis and more than 200 others are at risk after an outbreak of the infection among patients who had surgery in Matamoros, Mexico, the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention said on Friday.

At least 220 people in the United States who were treated at two clinics in Matamoros this year could be at risk after having epidural anesthesia, which is injected near the spinal column, the C.D.C. said. The people at risk traveled from the United States to the Mexican clinics for surgical procedures that included liposuction, Brazilian butt lifts and breast augmentation.

The C.D.C. said that as of Friday two people had died who had been classified as having probable cases of fungal meningitis. There were 11 more probable cases of the infection, based on spinal tap results, and 14 suspected cases, based on symptoms consistent with meningitis, the C.D.C. said.

Health authorities in the United States and Mexico have asked the World Health Organization to issue an emergency declaration in response to the outbreak.

The two clinics linked to the infections are River Side Surgical Center and Clinica K-3 in Matamoros, and both closed on May 13, the C.D.C. said.

People who had epidural anesthesia at these clinics should go to a health center, urgent care facility or emergency room as soon as possible to be tested for meningitis, even if they do not have symptoms, health officials said.

It can take weeks for meningitis symptoms to appear, and once they do, they can quickly become severe and life-threatening, the C.D.C. said. Symptoms may include sensitivity to light, a stiff neck, fever, vomiting and confusion. Fungal meningitis infections are not contagious or transmitted person to person.

The C.D.C. said that anyone who has planned an elective procedure involving an epidural injection of an anesthetic in Matamoros should cancel the surgery and related travel "until there is evidence that there is no longer a risk of infection at these clinics."

According to the C.D.C., millions of people in the United States travel to another country for medical care annually, a practice known as medical tourism. The most common procedures people seek include dental care, cosmetic surgery, fertility treatments, organ and tissue transplantation, and cancer treatment.

The C.D.C. said Mexico's Ministry of Health provided it with a list of 221 U.S. residents who might be at risk for meningitis because they were listed as having had a surgical procedure at one of the two clinics this year.

Dallas Smith, a C.D.C. epidemiologist, said in a webinar on Friday that 205 of those exposed were women and 16 were men. The median age of the patients was 32, and 178 of them were from Texas.

Dr. Smith said the outbreak was similar to a fungal meningitis outbreak that started in November 2022 in Durango, Mexico, where more than 1,400 patients were possibly exposed through contaminated epidural anesthesia. In that outbreak, 80 people were found to have meningitis and 39 of them died, he said.

"The outbreak that we're experiencing now is pretty similar, and it has the capacity to have this high mortality rate and just devastate families and communities," Dr. Smith said.

He said that Mexican and United States authorities had submitted a request for a public health emergency of international concern to the W.H.O. because the outbreak had exposed people in Mexico, the United States, Canada and Colombia.

This declaration is meant to accelerate international collaboration, funding and treatment development in response to a disease. The W.H.O. declared Covid-19 an emergency in January 2020 and lifted the designation this month.

The C.D.C. said it was working with Mexico's Ministry of Health and local health departments in 24 U.S. states and the District of Columbia to respond to the outbreak and to contact people who officials know had surgery at the clinics.

C.D.C. officials found that six of the 221 people potentially exposed to the infection did not have epidural anesthesia and are not considered at risk. The agency also found five other people who were not in the initial group of 221, meaning at least 220 people in the United States were potentially exposed.

Health officials are trying to determine whether any other clinics were involved. Mexico's Ministry of Health said on Thursday that an estimated 547 people had surgery at the two clinics between Jan. 1 and May 13.

In Populous India, a State Is Offering Cash to Encourage More Babies

By SAMEER YASIR

GANGTOK, India — Sikkim, nestled in the Himalayas and surrounded on three sides by Nepal, Bhutan and Tibet, stands out in the teeming diversity of India's states. It has the country's tallest peak. It is the world's largest producer of smoky black cardamom. It also has India's smallest population, not even three-quarters of a million people, and its lowest birthrate.

That last distinction has state leaders worried about the survival of the unique culture produced by Sikkim's blend of ethnic groups, religions and geography. And they are taking action.

While India as a whole, with 1.4 billion people and growing, will soon become the most populous country in history, the situation in Sikkim has gotten so dire that the local government is essentially paying people to have babies.

The effort points to a demographic reality in India that is often overshadowed by its sheer scale. Its population growth is highly uneven. A couple of states in the underdeveloped north account for much of it. Other parts of India — particularly the south, where incomes are higher and women are better educated — look more like East Asia or Western Europe, with aging populations that are shrinking or will be in the coming years.

In Sikkim, the birthrate has plummeted, officials say, for a different reason: a lack of economic opportunity, which often forces men and women to search for jobs outside the state, leading to marriages later in life.

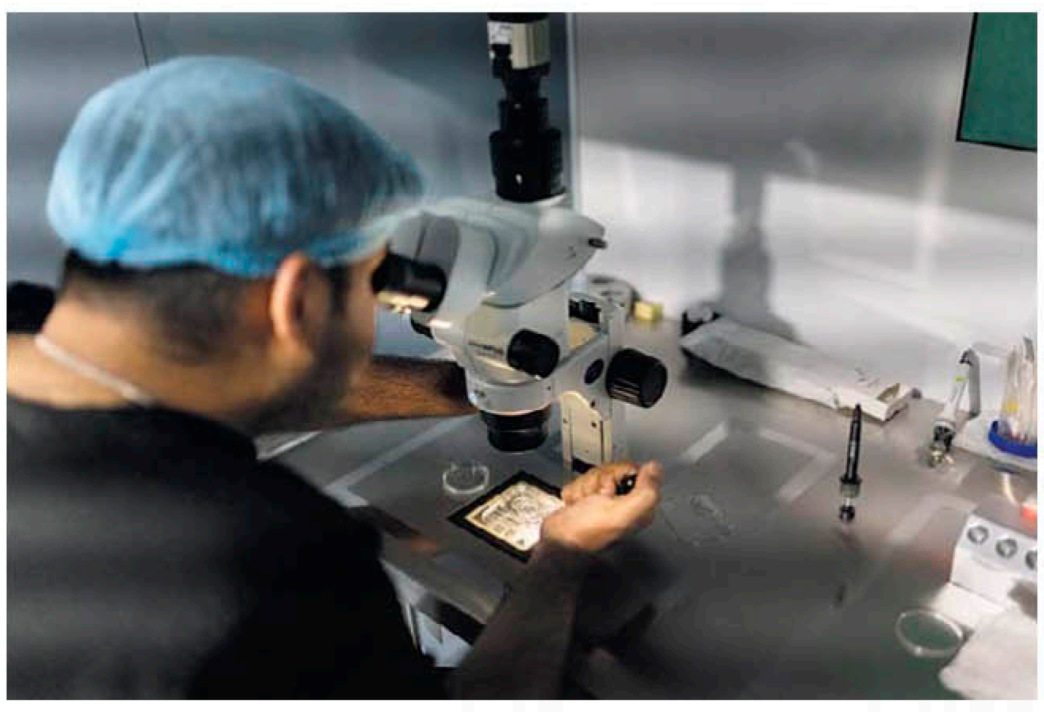
Traditionally, women in Sikkim have enjoyed greater freedom than those in many other rural parts of India, where they are often limited to domestic labor and child rearing. With a female labor force participation rate of 59 percent, much higher than the national average of around 29 percent, young people are choosing careers over early marriage and are having fewer babies.

Officials in the state want couples to have at least three children. Government statistics show that women there are having 1.1 on average during their reproductive years, well under the national rate of 2, and below the rate of 2.1 needed to maintain a steady population without migration.

Smita Sharma contributed reporting.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY SMITA SHARMA FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Arpana Chettri, above, gave birth after her second I.V.F. procedure, paid for by Sikkim's government. Below, preparing an embryo at the Newlife Fertility Center in Siliguri, India, left, and inside the center, right, which has seen more patients since the incentives.



State officials say their own surveys put the figure at 0.89, a rate just above that of South Korea, the least fecund nation in the world.

Countries have tried a number of measures to raise birthrates, but have found only modest success at best.

In Sikkim, the government is betting on a three-pronged strategy. Since August, it has been offering cash to childless citizens of reproductive age for in vitro fertilization treatment. It is also offering couples with one child a monthly stipend of about $80 if they have more. And civil servants are being offered salary increases, yearlong maternity leaves and even a babysitter if they expand their families.

Much is at stake as birthrates decline precipitously among all of Sikkim's dominant ethnic groups: the largely Hindu Nepalis, the Lepchas and the Bhutias, both mostly Buddhist.

"They have to either see their culture vanish or lure people to have more children to keep it alive," said Alok Vajpeyi, an official at the Population Foundation of India.

The social forces that guide people's decisions on having children are difficult for any government to change. But Sikkim's is hoping that I.V.F. will help those who already want children.

Sikkim's government is overseeing a program that pays about $3,600 for the first attempt at I.V.F. treatment and around $1,800 for the second attempt.

In offering I.V.F., the government must contend with a widespread stigma, including rumors that babies born through the therapy are made in "plastic boxes" or that such children are someone else's genetically.

"We are not only fighting misconceptions and rumors but also trying to save our way of life," said Shanker Deo Dhakal, a top official in the office of the chief minister of Sikkim.

Since the policy was instituted, more than 100 couples have opted for I.V.F. treatment, and more are applying each day. Officials said they were also spending more

Sikkim officials want couples to have at least three children.

money to educate people about I.V.F. through mass media campaigns.

Arpana Chettri, 40, a civil servant, has experienced the stigma firsthand. One recent morning, she was cradling her 6-month-old daughter, singing a lullaby to her in the Nepali language at her house in Gangtok, the capital of Sikkim. She is on a yearlong maternity leave.

She gave birth after her second I.V.F. procedure. "But now," Ms. Chettri said, "the problem is people are asking, 'Did you get the child after injection?'" referring to the misconception that I.V.F. babies are made in plastic tubes.

"How do I tell them this is my baby? I got dozens of injections, and it was painful," she said. "But she was inside me for nine months, not in a refrigerator."

One couple, Yogesh and Rupa Sharma, jumped at the opportunity for Ms. Sharma to undergo a round of I.V.F. treatment at government expense after five failed attempts.

Mr. Sharma said he wanted to talk openly about his own family's I.V.F. experience to encourage people to "give it a try."

"Childlessness can feel very lonely," he said. "Because our population is shrinking fast, only science can help us."

Modi Opens India's New Parliament Building as Opposition Leaders Boycott

By MUJIB MASHAL and HARI KUMAR

NEW DELHI — Prime Minister Narendra Modi on Sunday inaugurated a sleek new Parliament complex, part of a more than $2 billion project to revamp India's decrepit colonial-era center of government in New Delhi.

But the inauguration ceremony, which reflected Mr. Modi's usual penchant for Hindu religious and nationalist symbolism, was boycotted by his political opposition. And outside in the streets, the police were brutally breaking up a demonstration.

The majority of opposition lawmakers from both chambers, about 250 people, stayed away to protest what they called the latest example of the prime minister's overreach, which they say is undermining India's constitutional democracy.

In a rare statement of unity, about 20 opposition parties rebuked Mr. Modi for taking on a role they said was reserved for India's president, Droupadi Murmu, who holds the symbolic but important role as the custodian of the Constitution.

"The president is not only the head of state in India, but also an integral part of the Parliament. She summons, prorogues and addresses the Parliament," the parties said in the statement. "When the soul of democracy has been sucked out from the Parliament, we find no value in a new building."

Mr. Modi's Bharatiya Janata Party has pushed back against such claims, pointing out that previous prime ministers had inaugurated additions and annexes in the old Parliament building.

But the opposition parties said Mr. Modi's choice to preside over the inauguration was consistent with a more general breach of parliamentary process by his party, including pushing through, with scant debate, contentious bills that have altered the fundamentals of India's union.

The inauguration (which the opposition leader, Rahul Gandhi, compared with a "coronation") was held under tight security, as female wrestlers who have been camped out in protest for more than a month in central Delhi had vowed to hold a march the same day. The protesters, who include Olympic medalists, have accused the wrestling federation's chief, who is also a lawmaker in Mr. Modi's party, of sexual harassment and complained that the government was trying to brush aside their concerns.

ASSOCIATED PRESS

Prime Minister Narendra Modi of India with a scepter during a ceremony at a new Parliament building on Sunday in New Delhi.

When the wrestlers' march breached the security barricades, the police broke it up in a chaotic and violent scene, detaining the wrestlers and dismantling their camp.

Brij Bhushan Sharan Singh, the accused lawmaker, was in attendance at the inauguration, posting pictures of himself posing inside the new Parliament.

The old Parliament building was the site of big moments in the nation's history, like the 1947 declaration of independence from Britain and the adoption of the Constitution creating India as a democratic republic. But it no longer met the needs of what is soon to be the world's most populous country. It was short on space for the lower house's 543 legislators, a number likely to increase in coming years. Pieces of its ceiling sometimes fell on members, and a few years ago, the air-conditioning smelled so bad that a session had to be adjourned.

The new complex, built for about $120 million and designed by Bimal Patel, an Indian architect, incorporates the latest technology and expands seating to 888 in the main chamber of the lower house.

ARUN THAKUR/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Vinesh Phogat, center, and other wrestlers clashed with the police during a rally as they attempted to march to the Parliament.

Ronojoy Sen, a political scientist at the National University of Singapore and the author of a book about the history of India's Parliament, said the symbolism and the timing also mattered.

"The new Parliament is being built in time for the 2024 general elections," Mr. Sen said. "More importantly, it will remain as part of Modi's legacy, and as a link to India's 'timeless' and 'ancient' democracy — something that Modi has often talked about."

Campaigning for next year's general elections is in full swing, with opposition parties struggling to find a formula for challenging Mr. Modi's grip as he prepares to seek a third term in office.

India's governing party is presenting Mr. Modi as the leader needed at the moment of India's rise on the global stage. At an event in New Delhi on Friday marking nine years of Mr. Modi's rule, party leaders listed the progress on his watch — expansive infrastructure investment, improved social welfare programs, a rise in global standing — as reasons for a third term of his "decisive leadership."

While the opposition parties have often fought each other, many have faced a common threat in Mr. Modi's unleashing the arms of the state against them. In recent months, they seem to be uniting around a common narrative: Mr. Modi is turning the country's democracy into a one-party rule that is failing to bring the economic growth, particularly employment, that India needs.

"The muzzling of democratic dissent and expression has compelled opposition parties to sink their differences and come together to oppose Mr. Modi," said Arati Jerath, a political commentator based in New Delhi. "The opposition hopes to make the protection of democracy and federalism their main planks in next year's general election. However, much more work will have to go into shaping a popular and appealing narrative around these issues."

Analysts and rights activists say Mr. Modi has centralized power around himself in ways unseen since the 1970s, when Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's declaration of emergency brought India's democracy the closest ever to outright dictatorship.

What makes Mr. Modi's approach different from Ms. Gandhi's authoritarian turn, they say, is its religious undertone: He is a lifelong member of a right-wing Hindu movement that aims to turn India's secular system into a Hindu-first nation.

At a Hindu prayer ceremony during the inauguration (which also included an interfaith ceremony later), Mr. Modi prostrated himself in front of a scepter, an object that has come to encapsulate the meaning of the new Parliament — a new beginning from an ambitious builder, one determined to shed not just the remnants of India's colonial past, but also increasingly to replace the secular governance that followed it.

The governing party said the scepter, given by Hindu priests to India's first prime minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, as a symbol of transfer of power from the British in 1947, had been relegated to a corner of a small museum.

In social media posts showing Mr. Modi's embrace of the scepter now, party leaders made clear what its return meant: a reclaiming of the Hindu glory that they feel has been wrongfully undermined by India's secular constitutional structure.

Mr. Modi, surrounded by a dozen Hindu priests, carried the scepter down the aisle of the new Parliament, installing it to the right of the speaker's seat.

"This new Parliament is not just a building; it is a reflection of the aspirations of 1.4 billion Indians," Mr. Modi said. "This is the temple of our democracy."

N

The New York Times

Making a National Park Picture-Perfect

By LINDA QIU | Photographs by ERIN SCHAFF

The majestic peaks, desert blooms and geological wonders of the United States' national parks have beckoned to billions since Yellowstone was established in 1872. Nearly 312 million people visited last year, signaling a return to prepandemic levels. Spring and summer months are particularly packed at the hundreds of sites managed by the National Park Service.

To prepare for peak season at Bryce Canyon National Park in Utah — essentially, an island of crimson rock spires perched at about 8,000 feet — rangers begin restoring trails and training staff before the snows even melt.

This summer may be the busiest yet for Bryce Canyon, which is celebrating its centennial this year.

Continued on Following Page

Visitors riding horses through Bryce Canyon on a tour with Canyon Trail Rides, which has provided rides there for 50 years.

Bryce Canyon's Beauty Is Natural, But Maintaining It Takes Work

1. Conservation is a key part of the National Park Service's mission, and Bryce has played an important role for one species in particular: the Utah prairie dog.

The park celebrated prairie dogs on May 11, with rangers donning costumes, leading sightseeing walks and judging a calling competition. Contestants try to mimic the animal's distinctive sounds (some akin to a staccato squeak), which make up a complex vocabulary that can alert the colony to a predator's size, shape, color and speed.

Families met Petey the Prairie Dog, the park's mascot, and observed the prairie dogs in their natural habitat.

Petey's costume can get stuffy, and rangers trade off wearing the suit, which comes with a small fan at the back of the head.

Endemic to the state and considered crucial to its ecosystem, the Utah prairie dog was once abundant, but habitat loss, intentional poisoning and disease put it on track for extinction by 2000.

Establishing colonies in the meadows of Bryce Canyon helped preserve the population, and today, over 600 prairie dogs call the park home.

The day lent biologists and rangers the opportunity to teach young wildlife enthusiasts about the conservation history of the species — evidently inspiring some to become junior rangers.

The park is home to over 600 prairie dogs thanks to preservation efforts. Above, children used scopes to observe them on Prairie Dog Day.

A crew clearing the Navajo Loop Trail of debris and damage from storms and erosion after an unusually wet winter.

2. The park's 78 miles of hiking trails offer an up-close view of its rock spires. After months of snow and rain, rangers focus on clearing the way for visitors.

Every fall and winter, rain and snow saturate the soft limestone formations at Bryce, causing rockslides and degrading the trails. Every spring, crew members remove debris from hiking paths on the Navajo Loop Trail — an iconic 1.4-mile trek between the park's colorful hoodoos, the name for the eroded towers of rock that date back tens of millions of years.

Unusually heavy storms and a wet winter last year wrought severe damage, delaying the loop's opening. One side of the trail remains closed as crews continue repairs, digging out the surface of the route and installing wire baskets filled with large rocks along the perimeter to divert water and facilitate drainage.

One sunny day, crew members picked up fallen bricks from a retaining wall by hand, then excavated areas of trail and removed debris with pickaxes, rock bars and shovels, and used rakes to smooth it out. This crew had five people — four working by hand and one driving a small bulldozer.

The degree of damage also suggests that climate change will continue to affect conservation efforts and infrastructure at Bryce and other national parks across the country. More severe weather events like monsoonal rains or long droughts followed by wildfires can wreak havoc on the fragile ecosystems and geological formations of these parks.

Rangers anticipate that the entire Navajo Loop Trail will be ready for visitors in June.

3. Rangers make sure humans stay safe, learning to navigate the steep cliffs and towering pillars of the park when visitors run into trouble.

Bryce averages around 40 search-and-rescue operations a year, with many emergencies arising because of the high elevation.

Park employees are taught to perform basic first aid like CPR. In addition, some staff members are specifically trained as emergency medical workers and focus on prevention by monitoring hikers to make sure they are wearing the proper footwear and are adequately hydrated.

Rangers and local volunteers undergo basic technical training, learning to use ropes, harnesses and other high-angle equipment needed for more complicated rescues.

To join the firefighting team, participants must complete a fitness test, in which they have to carry 45 pounds over three miles in under 45 minutes.

During one session for rescue training, some participants assembled at the canyon rim, a more remote area free of visitors. Outfitted with helmets and safety equipment, they tied lines to the trees to practice rescues and rappelling into the canyon to assist victims.

Some situations call for solo missions, while others require teams and the use of a stretcher.

Last summer, a visitor could not complete the Fairyland Loop trail, a strenuous eight-mile hike. She tried to take a shortcut to return to the starting point and became separated from her grandchildren. Hours later, rangers found her clinging to a precipitous slope, unable to move. Securing ropes, they descended and lifted her to safety.

Rangers hope to prevent such incidents by encouraging would-be visitors to be aware of trail conditions and the risks of altitude sickness.

Rangers and local volunteers training to rappel into the canyon for rescues with ropes, harnesses and a stretcher.

4. Horseback riding is a popular draw for tourists, and one family has guided people through the canyon for years.

Like all national parks, Bryce Canyon contracts with private companies to run concession stands, lodges and guided tours.

One such company, Canyon Trail Rides, is family-owned and has provided horse and mule rides into the canyon for half a century.

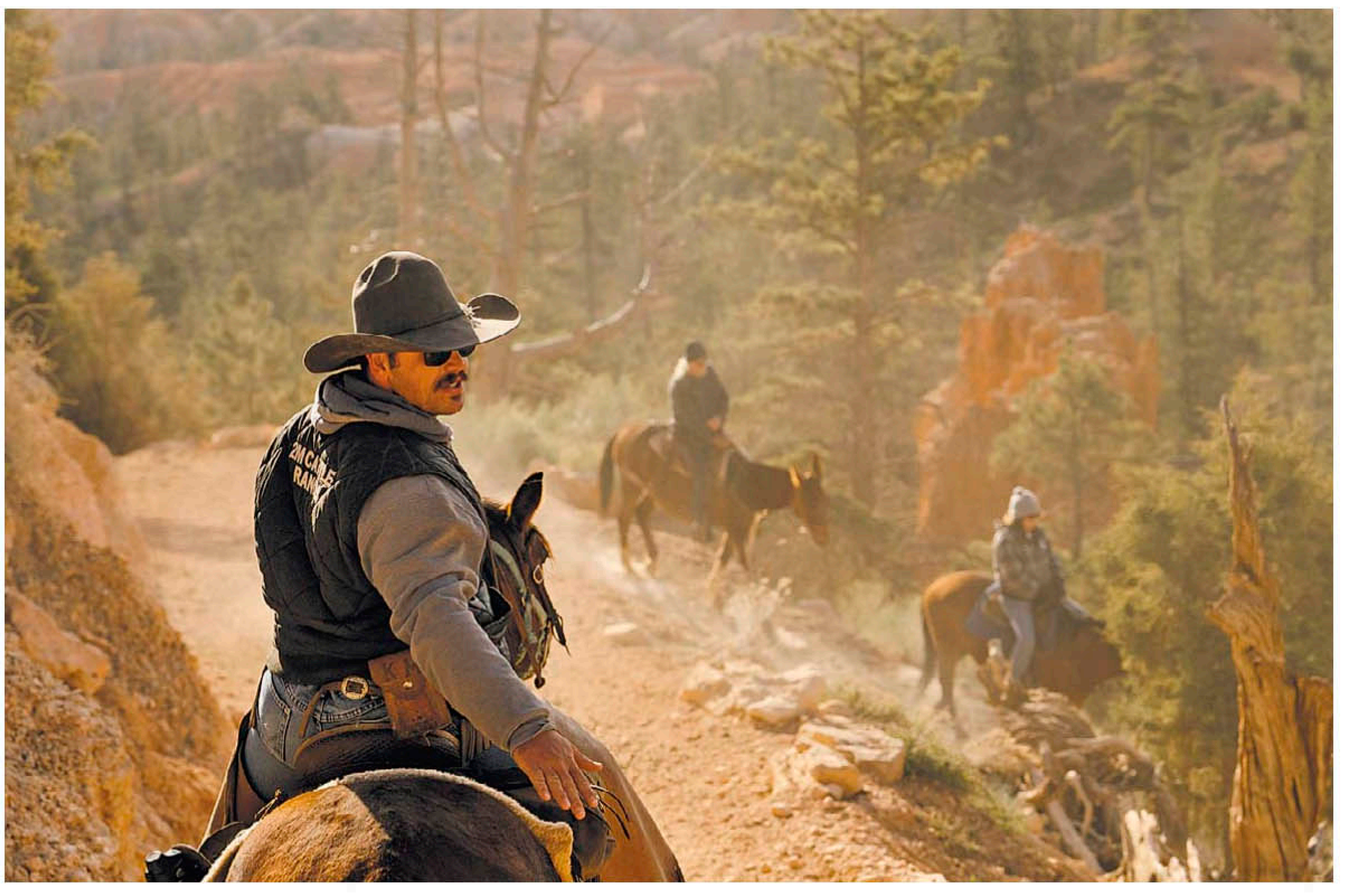
From April to October, cowboys arrive at the stables at 5:45 a.m. to feed and groom the horses. Crystal Mortensen, whose parents started the business in 1973, loves summer days in the park, particularly "when you can smell the pine trees and hear the locusts chirping in the manzanita bushes on the rim."

In the winter, horses are put out to pasture while a few employees oil and repair stirrups and other equipment and make their own saddles. Heavy snowfall delayed the rides by two weeks this year. Because the company has to maintain its own trails, employees manually cleared two miles of snow — piled seven feet high in some sections.

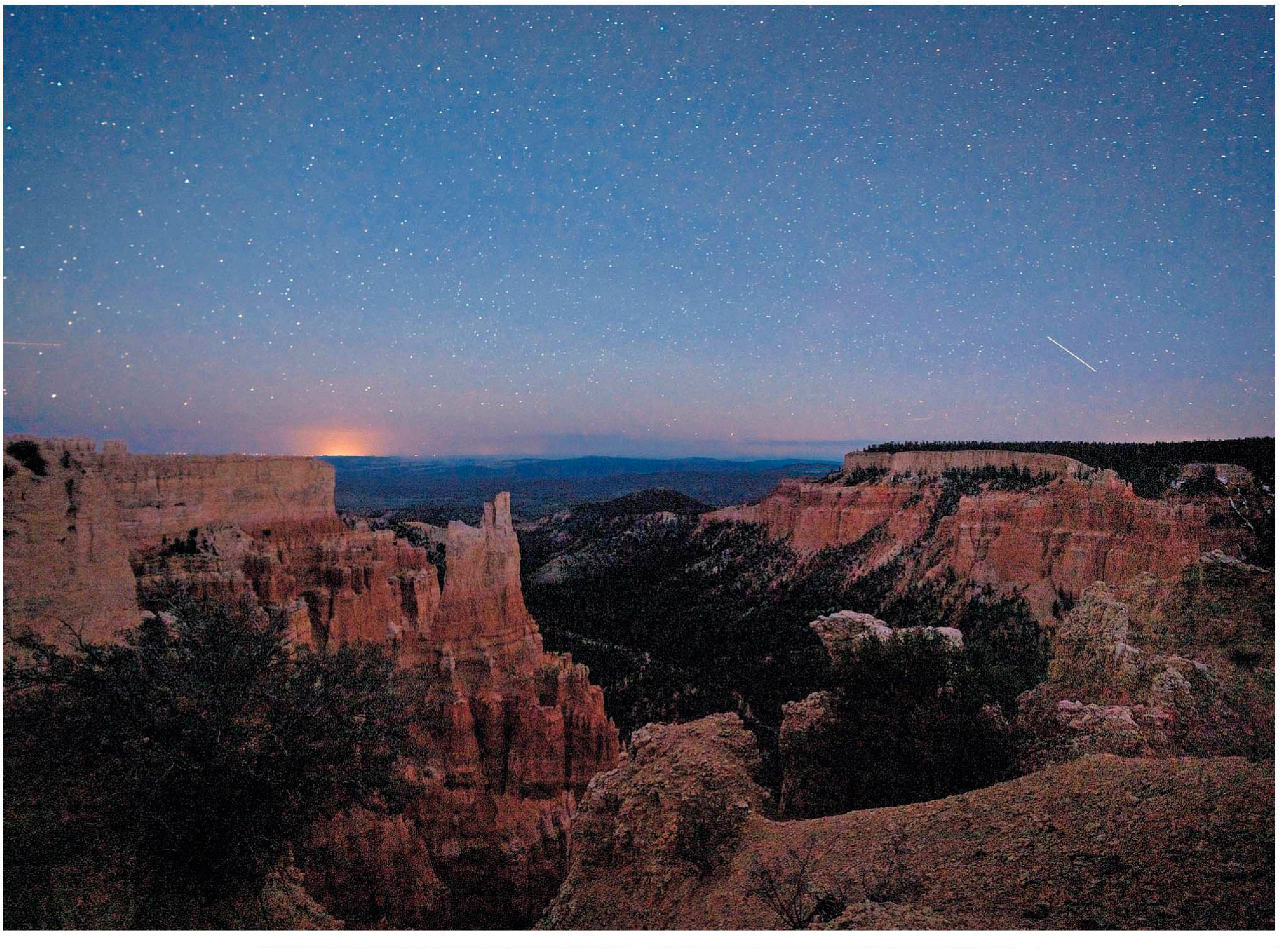
The corral is a short distance from the park lodge. Horses are tied together and travel in groups.

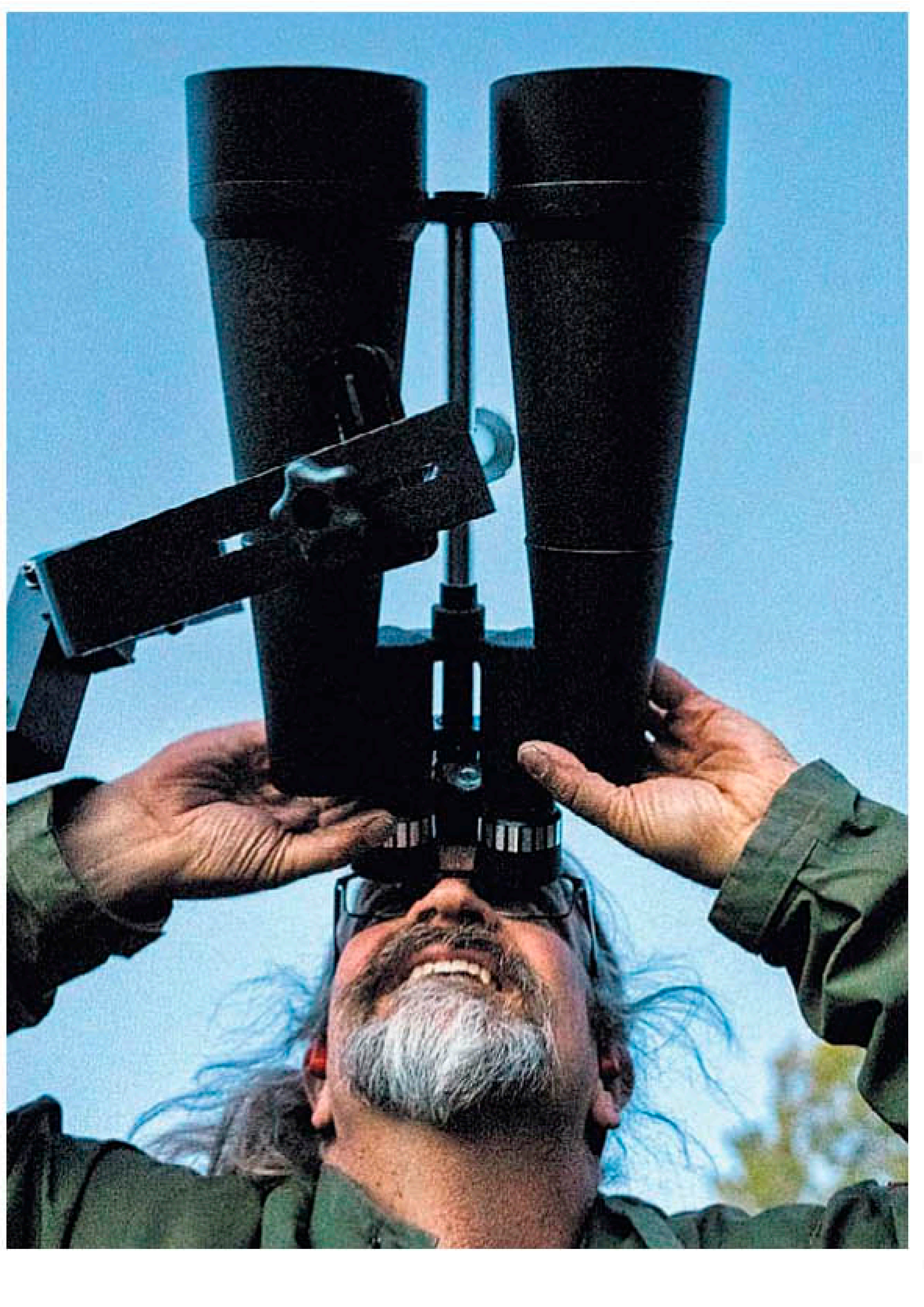
Visitors are assigned a horse based on experience (many have never ridden) before sloping down into the canyon. On early mornings, rays of sunshine peek over the hoodoos.

The horses are trained to walk near the edge to provide clearer views of the spires, inspiring the rule "don't lean and don't scream." The proximity can be thrilling, or terrifying.



A cowboy leading a tour through Bryce Canyon. Horses are trained to walk near the edge to gain the best views.





The nocturnal views at Bryce might be even more spectacular than the daytime ones. Kevin Poe, right, an astronomer, teaches workers to use telescopes and identify stars.

5. Simply looking up adds a whole new dimension to the park's vistas.

At night, less than 1 percent of Bryce Canyon is lit by artificial light, resulting in one of the darkest skies connected to a paved road in North America. In 2019, Bryce was designated a "dark sky park," meant to preserve the quality of the night sky.

Astronomy has always featured prominently at Bryce, where, rangers say, the darkness is celebrated almost as much as the geology. Nocturnal views attract far more visitors during peak season, so the park hires staff to meet the demand.

Kevin Poe, a ranger and astronomer at Bryce, teaches employees how to operate the telescopes and identify constellations, planets and stars as part of a long-running astronomy program.

The park's centennial also coincides with a morning solar eclipse in October, where a ring of fire will encircle the moon against a backdrop of vivid red and gold rock spires.

With Debt Limit Deal in Hand, McCarthy and Biden Turn to Selling It

By LUKE BROADWATER and CHRIS CAMERON

HAIYUN JIANG FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Speaker Kevin McCarthy and Representative Patrick T. McHenry, right, a member of Mr. McCarthy's negotiating team, are trying to ensure the deal can pass in time.

WASHINGTON — A day after striking a deal in principle with President Biden to raise the debt limit, Speaker Kevin McCarthy and his leadership team began an all-out sales pitch on Sunday to rally Republicans behind a compromise that was drawing intense resistance from the hard right.

To get the legislation through a fractious and closely divided Congress, Mr. McCarthy and top Democratic leaders must cobble together a coalition of Republicans and Democrats in the House and the Senate willing to back it. Members of the ultraconservative House Freedom Caucus have already declared war on the plan, which they say fails to impose meaningful spending cuts, and warned that they would seek to block it.

So after spending late nights and early mornings in recent days in feverish negotiations to strike the deal, proponents have turned their energies to ensuring it can pass in time to avert a default now projected on June 5.

"This is the most conservative spending package in my service in Congress, and this is my 10th term," Representative Patrick T. McHenry, Republican of North Carolina and a lead member of Mr. McCarthy's negotiating team, said at a news conference on Capitol Hill on Sunday morning.

House Republicans circulated a one-page memo with 10 talking points about the conservative benefits of the deal, which was still being finalized and written into legislative text on Sunday, hours before it was expected to be released. The G.O.P. memo asserted that the plan would cap government spending at 1 percent annually for six years — though the measure is only binding for two years — and noted that it would impose stricter work requirements for Americans receiving government benefits, cut $400 million from the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention for global health funding and eliminate funding for hiring new I.R.S. agents in 2023.

"It doesn't get everything everybody wanted," Mr. McCarthy told reporters on Capitol Hill. "But, in divided government, that's where we end up. I think it's a very positive bill."

Mr. Biden told reporters that he was confident the deal would reach his desk and that he spoke with Mr. McCarthy on Sunday afternoon "to make sure all the T's are crossed and the I's are dotted."

"The agreement prevents the worst possible crisis, a default for the first time in our nation's history," Mr. Biden said later, adding, "It also protects key priorities and accomplishments and values that congressional Democrats and I have fought long and hard for."

Mr. Biden said it was an open question whether the deal would make it through Congress. "I have no idea whether he has the votes," he said of Mr. McCarthy. "I expect he does."

Still, the deal, which would raise the debt ceiling for two years while cutting and capping some federal programs over the same period, was facing harsh criticism from the wings of both political parties.

"Terrible policy, absolutely terrible policy," Representative Pramila Jayapal, Democrat of Washington, said on CNN's "State of the Union," referring to the work requirements for food stamps and other public benefit programs. "I told the president that directly when he called me last week on Wednesday that this is saying to poor people and people who are in need that we don't trust them."

Ms. Jayapal, the chairwoman of the Congressional Progressive Caucus, said she wanted to read the bill before she decided whether to support it.

Some on the right had already ruled out doing so before seeing the details.

"No one claiming to be a conservative could justify a YES vote," Representative Bob Good, Republican of Virginia and a member of the House Freedom Caucus, wrote on Twitter. Representative Dan Bishop, Republican of North Carolina, posted his reaction to news of the deal: a vomit emoji.

Russell T. Vought, President Trump's influential former budget director who now runs the Center for Renewing America, encouraged right-wing Republicans to use their seats on the House Rules Committee — which Mr. McCarthy granted them as he toiled to win their votes to become speaker — to block the deal. "Conservatives should fight it with all their might," he said.

A fractious and divided Congress must be coaxed to pass a bill.

Some Senate Republicans, who under that chamber's rules have more tools to slow consideration of legislation, were also up in arms.

"No real cuts to see here," Senator Rand Paul, Republican of Kentucky, said on Twitter. "Conservatives have been sold out once again!"

"With Republicans like these, who needs Democrats?" asked Senator Mike Lee, Republican of Utah, who has vowed to delay the debt limit deal.

Senator Lindsey Graham, Republican of South Carolina, was also critical — though for a much different reason. He called the deal too stingy, demanding more robust military funding, particularly for the Navy.

"I am not going to do a deal that marginally reduces the number of I.R.S. agents in the future at the expense of sinking the Navy," Mr. Graham said on "Fox News Sunday."

But Mr. McCarthy argued that Republican critics were a small faction.

"More than 95 percent of all those in the conference were very excited," Mr. McCarthy, who briefed Republicans about the deal on Saturday night, said on Fox. "Think about this: We finally were able to cut spending. We're the first Congress to vote for cutting spending year over year."

The deal would essentially freeze federal spending that had been on track to grow, excluding military and veterans programs.

Representative Dusty Johnson, Republican of South Dakota and an ally of Mr. McCarthy's, said that House Republicans would overwhelmingly support the debt deal. He played down the right-wing revolt, claiming that leaders never expected certain House Freedom Caucus members to vote for it.

"When you're saying that conservatives have concerns, it is really the most colorful conservatives," Mr. Johnson said on "State of the Union," pointing out that some Republicans even voted against a more conservative proposal to raise the debt ceiling. "Some of those guys you mentioned didn't vote for the thing when it was kind of a Republican wish list."

Still, it was clear Mr. McCarthy would need votes from Democrats to pass the measure through the House — and those might not prove easy to deliver, especially from the left wing in the House.

Representative Jim Himes, Democrat of Connecticut, said he was undecided about how to vote but expressed anger at the negotiations, which he compared to hostage-taking on the part of Republicans.

"None of the things in the bill are Democratic priorities," Mr. Himes said on Fox. Mr. Himes said the legislation was not "going to make any Democrats happy."

"But it's a small enough bill that in the service of actually not destroying the economy this week may get Democratic votes," he said.

Representative Hakeem Jeffries of New York, the House minority leader, said on CBS's "Face the Nation" that he expected that "there will be Democratic support once we have the ability to actually be fully briefed by the White House."

But he was clear that he did not like the position Democrats were in.

"We have to, of course, avoid a market crash. We have to avoid tanking the economy. We have to avoid a default," Mr. Jeffries said. "The reason why we're in this situation from the very beginning is that extreme MAGA Republicans made the determination that they were going to use the possibility of default to hold the economy and everyday Americans hostage."

NEWS ANALYSIS

President Must Sway Democrats Who Question Need for Consensus

From Page A1

prefer to draw a sharper contrast for their own elections in 2024, when they hope to recapture the House.

"The agreement also represents a compromise that means no one got everything they want, but that's the responsibility of governing," Mr. Biden told reporters at the White House on Sunday evening.

Most importantly from Mr. Biden's point of view, the agreement averts a catastrophic national default that could have cost many jobs, tanked the stock markets, jeopardized Social Security payments and sent the economy reeling. He is banking on the assumption that Americans will appreciate mature leadership that does not gamble with the nation's economic health.

But many on the political left are irritated that Mr. Biden in their view gave in to Mr. McCarthy's hostage-taking strategy. The president who said the debt ceiling was "not negotiable" ended up negotiating it after all to avoid a national default, barely even bothering with the fiction that talks over spending limits were somehow separate.

Liberals were pushing Mr. Biden to stiff the Republicans and short-circuit the debt ceiling altogether by claiming the power to ignore it under the 14th Amendment, which says the "validity of the public debt" of the federal government "shall not be questioned." But while Mr. Biden agreed with the constitutional interpretation, he concluded it was too risky because the nation could still go into default while the issue was being litigated in the courts.

And so, much to the chagrin of his allies, the bargaining of recent weeks was entirely on Republican terms. While details were still emerging this weekend, the final agreement included no new Biden fiscal initiatives like higher taxes on the wealthy or expanded discounts for insulin. The question essentially was how much of the Limit, Save and Grow Act passed by House Republicans last month would the president accept in exchange for increasing the debt ceiling.

But Mr. Biden succeeded in stripping the Limit, Save and Grow Act significantly down from what it originally was, to the great consternation of conservative Republicans. Instead of raising the debt ceiling for less than one year while imposing hard caps on discretionary spending for 10 years, the agreement links the two so that the spending limits last just two years, the same as the debt ceiling increase. While Republicans insisted on predicating the limits on a baseline of 2022 spending levels, appropriations adjustments will make it effectively equivalent to the more favorable baseline of 2023.

Critics on the left saw a hostage-taking strategy by the G.O.P.

As a result, the agreement will pare back anticipated spending over the decade just a fraction of what the Republicans sought. The Congressional Budget Office estimated that the caps passed by House Republicans last month would have trimmed $3.2 trillion in discretionary spending over 10 years; a rough New York Times calculation suggests the agreement reached by Mr. Biden and Mr. McCarthy might instead cut a third of that or less.

Moreover, while Mr. Biden did not advance many new Democratic policy goals in the agreement with Mr. McCarthy, he effectively shielded the bulk of his accomplishments from the first two years of his presidency from Republican efforts to gut them.

The Republican plan envisioned revoking many of the clean energy incentives that Mr. Biden included in the Inflation Reduction Act, eliminating additional funds for the Internal Revenue Service to chase wealthy tax cheats and blocking the president's plan to forgive $400 billion in student loans for millions of Americans. None of that was in the final package.

Indeed, the I.R.S. provision offers an example of Mr. Biden's deal-making. As a token concession to Republicans, he agreed to cut around $10 billion from the additional $80 billion previously allocated to the agency, but most of that money will be used to avoid deeper cuts in discretionary spending sought by Republicans.

One of the touchiest areas for Mr. Biden's progressive allies was the Republican insistence on imposing or expanding work requirements on recipients of social safety-net programs, including Medicaid, food assistance and welfare payments for families. Mr. Biden, who supported work requirements on welfare in the 1990s, initially signaled openness to considering the Republican proposals, only to face a fierce blowback from Democrats.

POOL PHOTO BY YURI GRIPAS/EPA, VIA SHUTTERSTOCK

President Biden rejected claims that he gave too much to Republicans. "They'll find I didn't," he said.

On Friday night, even as the deal was coming together, the White House issued a sharp statement accusing Republicans of trying to "take food out of the mouths of hungry Americans" while preserving tax cuts for the wealthy — a broadside aimed as much at reassuring restive liberals as assailing hard-line conservatives.

The final agreement between Mr. Biden and Mr. McCarthy includes no work requirements for Medicaid, but does raise the age for people who must work to receive food aid through the Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program, or SNAP, to 54 while eliminating requirements for veterans and homeless people. The agreement moderates Republican provisions to expand work requirements for Temporary Assistance for Needy Families.

The challenge now for Mr. Biden is selling the compromise to his fellow Democrats. Just as Mr. McCarthy knows he will lose potentially dozens of Republicans disappointed in the accommodations he made, the president expects many in his own party to vote against the final product as well. But he needs to deliver enough Democrats to offset G.O.P. defections to forge a bipartisan majority.

Representative Jim Himes, Democrat of Connecticut, summed up the reaction of many in his party. "None of the things in the bill are Democratic priorities," he said on "Fox News Sunday," citing health care, climate change and other issues and adding that "those are priorities and not a single one of them are in this bill."

But he added that Mr. Biden had pared down the final product. "The reason it may have some traction with some Democrats is that it's a very small bill."

Sensitive to the criticism, the White House sent briefing materials and talking points to every House Democrat within minutes of striking the deal on Saturday night and followed up on Sunday with telephone calls. In his short meeting with reporters later in the day, Mr. Biden rejected criticism from Democrats worried he gave away too much. "They'll find I didn't," he said. As for concern that the work requirements would hurt those in need of food, he said, "It's a ridiculous assertion."

Mr. Biden has been here before. As vice president, he was President Barack Obama's chief negotiator in several fiscal showdowns, but he so irritated fellow Democrats who thought he gave away too much that Senator Harry M. Reid of Nevada, then the party leader in the Senate, effectively barred Mr. Biden in 2013 from negotiations over a debt ceiling increase.

Kicking a vice president out of the room, of course, is one thing. Mr. Biden is now the president and the leader of his party heading into a re-election year. It's his room. And he is managing it on his own terms, like it or not.

After Tree of Life Shootings, a Network Tracks Threats Nationwide

From Page A1

burgh was followed by arguably the most ambitious and comprehensive effort ever taken to protect Jewish life in the United States. In addition to bringing in more than $100 million dollars in federal grants to local Jewish organizations, the Jewish Federations of North America has raised $62 million with the ultimate goal of securing "every single Jewish community" on the continent.

There are now 93 Jewish Federations with full-time security directors, a more than fourfold increase over the past five years.

Local federations have long discussed security concerns with mayors and police chiefs, and some have paid for guards at schools and other places, said Eric Fingerhut, president of the J.F.N.A. But never, he said, has there been "this kind of comprehensive effort to say every institution in every Jewish community needs to be secured and connected to a best-practices operation."

Overseeing much of this operation is the Secure Community Network. The group's senior national security adviser, the man who designed much of the approach that it shares with local federations, is Bradley Orsini, a burly, gregarious former F.B.I. agent. In October 2018, he was the security director for the Jewish Federation of Greater Pittsburgh.

"The worst day of my professional career," Mr. Orsini said in an interview at the group's headquarters. He had been in charge of preparing the community for calamity, and it happened. But there was another way of looking at it, one that is the foundation of the work he does now: Had they not been taught the basic tactics of active-shooter response, the horror at Tree of Life would have been even worse.

"Bad things are going to happen," Mr. Orsini said. "But we can give ourselves an edge."

In a report released in March, the Anti-Defamation League counted 3,700 instances of antisemitic harassment, vandalism or assault around the country last year alone, the highest number in 43 years of keeping track. The F.B.I. has also found hate crimes on the rise; of religiously motivated hate crimes, nearly two-thirds were targeted at Jews.

The most terrifying of these have made national news, such as the hostage situation last year at a synagogue in Texas. In January 2022, a British citizen, apparently radicalized by Islamist extremists, took a rabbi and several others hostage. The hostages escaped unharmed — due in large part, the rabbi said afterward, to the training they had received from the Secure Community Network.

"It's unfortunate that we're growing, because the need is unfortunate," Mr. Orsini said. "Everybody knows it's not a matter of if. It's a matter of when and where."

When Mr. Orsini went to work at the Pittsburgh federation in 2017, Jewish people in the city and elsewhere were noting an ominous turn in the national rhetoric, in the undisguised hostility toward immigrants and dog-whistle warnings about "globalist elites." But few saw imminent danger.

"When Brad started going out to our organizations, he said, 'Do you get any threatening phone calls?'" said Jeff Finkelstein, the president of the Pittsburgh federation. "And they said, 'Yes.' 'So what do you do?' 'We don't do anything.'"

Mr. Orsini, who is not Jewish but was attuned to the menace of violent bigotry from his years on the civil rights squad in Pittsburgh's F.B.I. office, devised a systematic approach to guarding Jewish institutions against attacks, which he called "the Pittsburgh model."

He began by closely examining all of the Jewish facilities in the region and recommending security improvements, like planning escape routes or installing bullet-resistant glass. He set about strengthening ties with local law enforcement and encouraging people to report any sign of hate activity.

And he held more than 100 training sessions, including two at Tree of Life, where in 2017 a skeptical congregant named Steven Weiss learned the principles of "run, hide, fight."

An ambitious effort to protect Jewish institutions in the U.S.

"We were just going through the motions," Mr. Weiss, then a teacher, recalled. What was the point, he thought at the time. "Nothing is ever going to happen here."

On a drizzly Saturday morning at the synagogue a year later, as he heard the gunfire in the hallway outside the chapel, Mr. Weiss scrambled to crouch behind a pew. Then he remembered Mr. Orsini's words: "Don't hide in plain sight. You've got to get out." He saw another door and, with the gunshots growing closer, fled the room.

Active-shooter training is no guarantee against the kind of terror that unfolded on that day. But Mr. Weiss credits it with his survival.

The November after the attack, Lloyd Myers, a health care entrepreneur and philanthropist who worshiped for a time at Tree of Life, gathered a few dozen people for a brainstorming session.

"I started asking: 'How could this happen?'" he said. "I'd ask my family, I'd I ask rabbis, I'd ask people with the Federation. And everybody said, 'The reality is nobody's watching our backs.'"

Mr. Myers's health care technology business had specialized in gathering open-source data and scouring it for patterns or signs of trouble. He wondered if this expertise could be of use. Mr. Orsini told him about the Secure Community Network.

Mr. Myers's epidemiological approach — of "looking at hate as a virus," as he described it — has come to fruition in the conference room full of screens at the network's headquarters.

Much of the analysts' days are spent plumbing the sewers of the internet, sifting through posts doxxing prominent Jewish people or extolling violence, a noxious chore that one analyst referred to as "proactive threat-hunting."

There are around 1,300 individuals in these channels whom the analysts watch particularly closely, sharing hundreds of disturbing finds with law enforcement which in some cases have led to arrests. But analysts said that antisemitic extremism is more decentralized than it was a few years ago, when the neo-Nazis who marched in Charlottesville in 2017 drew mainstream attention to more organized far-right groups.

White supremacy shows up now in racist fliers tossed into front yards, in small rallies that quickly form and dissipate and in torrents of vile chatter coursing through online forums. In some ways, one analyst said, it makes things even more dangerous, akin to the scattering of small, quasi-independent terror cells.

The network is planning to operate a temporary outpost in Pittsburgh during the shooter's trial, which will largely revolve around the question of whether he should be put to death.

The network's director, Michael Masters, a Harvard Law grad who served in the Marines, said that many Jewish communities he spoke with saw the attack in Pittsburgh at first as a tragic anomaly, rather than a sign of a new normal. But the shooting exactly six months later at a synagogue in Poway, Calif., in which the assailant named the Pittsburgh attacker as an inspiration, unraveled that notion.

"That was the moment where Brad and I saw a shift," Mr. Masters said. "Even if you got that question still — 'Well, I don't know that it's going to happen here' — you could say, 'Pittsburgh, Poway. We're not going to choose the time and place.'"

The need for a newfound vigilance has largely been acknowledged, but there are still those who seem resistant. Mr. Weiss learned this when he left Pittsburgh and joined a new congregation in Lebanon, Pa., where he immediately pointed out shortcomings in the synagogue's security.

The rabbi there, Sam Yolen, said many members readily understood Mr. Weiss's warnings — particularly the young, who had seen the hate metastasizing online, and the very old, who had lived at a time when antisemitism was a fact of everyday life.

But some, he said — those who had come of age believing that they could live as Jews in America largely unexposed to threats or danger related to their identity — had required more convincing. "People who might have grown up with America's promise of a white picket fence," Rabbi Yolen said, are having to learn that "*that* was the exception. Not the hate that we are experiencing now."

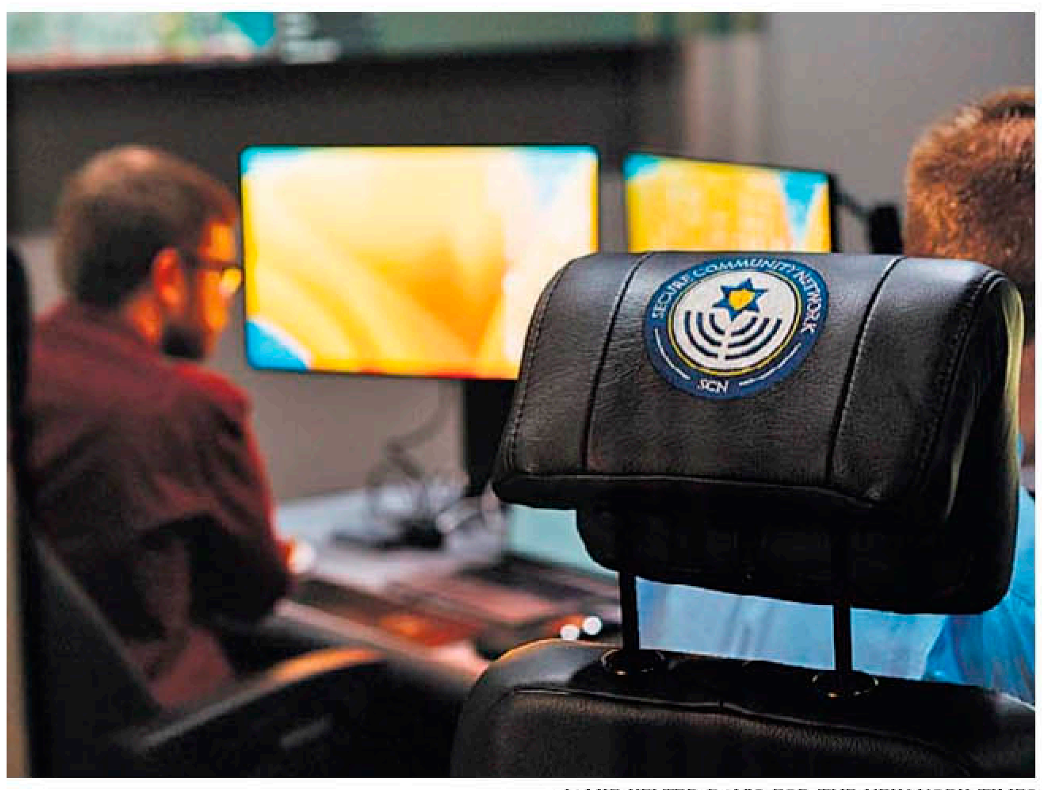
The hostage situation in Texas last year was one of the more recent reminders of this new normal. After an 11-hour standoff at the synagogue, the rabbi, who had recently undergone training with the Secure Community Network, threw a chair at the attacker, giving the hostages a chance to escape. That chair now sits on a low platform in the Chicago headquarters.

Beside it is a smaller chair, the vinyl faded and pockmarked with holes. It is from Tree of Life.

MICHAEL HENNINGER FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

JAMIE KELTER DAVIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Mourners at the Tree of Life Synagogue in Pittsburgh days after a mass shooting there in 2018 killed 11 people. At left, Brad Orsini with the breached front door from the Congregation Beth Israel of Colleyville, Texas. Hostages escaped an attack there last year thanks to training they had received from the Secure Community Network. Below, analysts at work at the headquarters.



JAMIE KELTER DAVIS FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Texas Legislature's Voting Bills Target Elections in a Democratic Stronghold

By J. DAVID GOODMAN

HOUSTON — The Texas Legislature gave final approval on Sunday to a new round of voting bills to increase penalties for illegal voting and expand state oversight of local elections specifically in Harris County, which includes Houston, where Democrats have become dominant.

The measures, which now head to Gov. Greg Abbott to sign, include a bill that would upend elections in Houston a few months before the city's mayoral race in November by forcing the county to change how it runs elections and return to a previous system.

That bill, known as Senate Bill 1750, was crafted so that it applies only to Harris County. So was another bill, Senate Bill 1933, that would give broad new powers to the secretary of state, appointed by the governor, to direct how elections are run in the county if there are complaints and to petition a court to replace the top election officials when deemed necessary.

Why It Matters: Harris County could tilt the power balance in Texas.

Harris County, the state's most populous county, has become a reliable Democratic stronghold.

The passage of the bills marked the culmination of a monthslong effort by Texas Republicans to contest some of that dominance. They highlighted Election Day problems last November in Harris County as justification for challenging results that favored Democrats and call into question the way the Democratic-led county runs its elections.

"It was a stated intention of some of the folks in the Legislature to take action against Harris County election administration," said Daniel Griffith, the senior policy director at Secure Democracy USA, a nonpartisan organization focused on elections and voter access.

Senate Bill 1750 eliminates the appointed position of elections administrator, which has been in place in Harris County only since late 2020. If the bill becomes law with the governor's signature, the county must return to its previous system of running elections, in which the county clerk and the county tax collector-assessor split responsibilities. Both positions are currently occupied by elected Democrats.

ANNIE MULLIGAN FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Workers organized paperwork from polls at NRG Arena in Houston in November.

A Republican effort to increase oversight in Harris County.

"The Legislature's support for S.B. 1750 and S.B. 1933 is because Harris County is not too big to fail, but too big to ignore," State Senator Paul Bettencourt, a Houston Republican and sponsor of several election bills, said in a statement. "The public's trust in elections in Harris County must be restored."

Another bill, Senate Bill 1070, removes Texas from an interstate system for crosschecking voter registration information run by a nonprofit, the Electronic Registration Information Center, or ERIC. The system has been the target of conservative attacks in several states in part because it requires states using it to also conduct voter outreach when new voters move in from out of state. The Texas measure bars the state from entering into any cross-checking system that requires voter outreach.

Yet another bill, House Bill 1243, increases the penalty for illegal voting from a misdemeanor to a felony.

The measures that passed were opposed by Democratic representatives and voting rights groups. But advocates of greater access to the polls were relieved that other, more restrictive measures put forward and passed in the State Senate — including one that would have required voters to use their assigned polling place instead of being able to vote anywhere in the county, and another that would have created a system for the state to order new elections under certain circumstances in Harris County — failed in the Texas House.

"Those haven't moved and that's definitely a good thing," Mr. Griffith said.

What's Next: a lawsuit and a microscope on upcoming elections.

The bills invite new scrutiny of elections, especially in Harris County, where officials would be expected to revamp their system just months before important elections.

Under the new legislation, future complaints about the functioning of elections in the Democratic-run county could create the real possibility that the secretary of state, a former Republican state senator, could step in and oversee elections as early as next year, as the county votes for president.

The bills, said Mayor Sylvester Turner of Houston, "create more problems than they allegedly solve."

Top officials in Harris County have vowed to go to court to challenge both measures aimed at the county once the laws go into effect (Sept. 1, if the governor signs), meaning the fight over elections in the county remains far from over.

New York Could Purge Some Criminal Records

By GRACE ASHFORD

Melinda Agnew has done a lot in the 25 years since she got in trouble with the law: She earned an associate degree, followed by a bachelor's and a master's. She had three children and recently became a grandmother.

Yet she walks around with a sense of unease.

"I still have this past that is behind me," Ms. Agnew, 47, of Syracuse, N.Y., said, adding, "At any given moment, someone could come up and say, 'Well, what happened in 1999?'"

Nothing good comes after this question. To answer it truthfully — she pleaded guilty to misdemeanor assault — is to be denied jobs she is otherwise qualified for and apartments she can afford to rent. To lie is to undercut the person she has fought so hard these past decades to become.

Lawmakers in Albany are considering legislation aimed at lifting that burden for Ms. Agnew and millions of others. Known as the Clean Slate Act, the bill would automatically seal the criminal records of people who have paid their debt to society and remained out of trouble for a specified number of years — three for misdemeanors, seven for most felonies.

The legislative effort has been gaining momentum for several years, with Gov. Kathy Hochul including a scaled-back version of the act in her agenda last year. The State Senate passed a more far-reaching version, but the bill died in the Assembly.

This year, Democratic leaders in the Legislature have signaled that passage is a priority before they recess in two weeks — especially for left-leaning lawmakers still stinging over losing ground this session on bail laws.

The effort, which has the backing of an unlikely coalition of local governments, unions, criminal justice groups and companies including Verizon and JP Morgan Chase, builds on an idea that has been gaining bipartisan acceptance: that the bias against hiring formerly incarcerated people has not only a social cost but an economic one.

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce, the nation's largest business lobbying group, released a report that estimated that excluding formerly incarcerated job seekers from the work force has cost the United States at least $78 billion in lost gross domestic product.

Ten states, including Oklahoma, Virginia and Utah, have passed legislation to automatically clear certain criminal records.

But not everyone supports the effort. In Albany, Republicans, including minority leaders in the Senate and Assembly, call the measure another liberal effort to decrease criminal accountability that will endanger New Yorkers.

Tony Jordan, president of the District Attorneys Association of the State of New York, is also opposed, saying that a move to automatically seal all records, including those of serious crimes, could cause more harm than good. He prefers the current approach, which allows individuals to ask a judge to seal their record, and argues for improvements to the current system, rather than a whole new dynamic.

"If our governmentally supported housing is discriminating against people because of their criminal history, we should look at that, because that's not correct," Mr. Jordan said. "The businesses that are supporting this? Well, my answer to them is you can hire folks now with a criminal history. They choose not to, because they want to avoid liability, but that's on them."

The timing of the bill will also present something of a challenge: There are just a handful of days left in the session for the Senate and Assembly to pass identical versions of the measure, which must be signed by the governor.

Ms. Hochul has signaled support for the broad strokes of the bill but is also pushing to narrow its scope, according to three people familiar with discussions. In particular, she has expressed questions about when the clock should begin — when someone gets out of jail or completes parole — and which employers should have access to sealed records.

AMRITA STUETZLE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Melinda Agnew completed a sentence for misdemeanor assault in 2003 but still braces for questions about her past in job interviews.

The current version contains a series of carve-outs: Drunk-driving convictions would remain visible to the Division of Motor Vehicles, for instance, as would the criminal records of people applying to join the police force or obtain a firearm permit.

All criminal records would remain accessible to police, prosecutors and judges for internal use, and sexual offenses, many of which require public registration, would be exempt.

All other crimes would be eligible for automatic sealing, so long as the individual had completed the full sentence, including parole, and the number of years prescribed in the bill had passed without the person committing another crime in New York.

The fact that the measure, which would in practice restrict the amount of information that employers have about their workers, has garnered such support in the business community is a testament to the work of the bill's sponsors to incorporate feedback, says Kathryn Wilde, who leads the Partnership for New York City.

"The methodology by which the Clean Slate Act became something that everybody could support was different," she said. "In other words, it was collaborative."

Indeed, one of the key concessions to the business community is the provision that frees businesses to hire formerly incarcerated people without fear of incurring litigation, said Paul Zuber, the president of the Business Council.

He stressed that the legislation was crucial given the labor challenges New York is facing, saying, "This really isn't a criminal justice bill; it's an economic development, economic opportunity bill."

Proponents say that the measure will have a cascade of beneficial effects for individuals as well as society. They point to a 2020 study from Harvard Law School, which found that on the whole, those whose records had been expunged tended to reoffend less and earn more.

"If you're giving people the opportunity to actually have meaningful work, that can help them support their family — get a roof over their heads — you are reducing exponentially the reasons why recidivism even occurs," said Catalina Cruz, the bill's sponsor in the Assembly.

The Senate sponsor, Zellnor Myrie, says this notion of redemption lies at the heart of Clean Slate.

"When we talk about some of the more egregious offenses, ones that I think rightfully shock the conscience, we have also made a determination about how much of punishment that individual should receive for that," Mr. Myrie said. "What we do not have on the books is perpetual punishment."

He noted that offenses that include a provision of lifetime parole, like murder, would be ineligible for sealing.

Ms. Agnew was 17 when she drunkenly smashed another girl's face with a bottle of Bacardi rum. She was sentenced to 60 days in jail and several years of probation, which she completed in 2003.

But she soon realized that the punishment for her crime was not over and never truly would be, lingering every time that she applied for a job, financial aid for school or a new apartment.

She tries to turn her lived experience into a benefit, helping advise the state on policies that can help families dealing with the justice system.

But she says she still awaits the day when she and others like her can really move on, unencumbered by a debt they have already paid. "That will be in history," she said. "In the past."

Judge Rules That Graduate Cannot Wear A Flag Sash

By LAUREN MCCARTHY

A federal judge on Friday upheld a decision barring a student from wearing a sash honoring her Mexican American heritage to her graduation ceremony after the high school senior sued her Colorado school district.

In the lawsuit, filed on Wednesday in the U.S. District Court for the District of Colorado, lawyers for the student, Naomi Peña Villasano, said she was told by the school principal's secretary that she could not wear the sash because "allowing that regalia would 'open too many doors.'"

Lawyers for Ms. Villasano, 18, wrote in the suit that "the sash is a reminder that not all Mexican Americans, including her parents, have the opportunity to graduate from high school and to walk across a graduation stage."

They added, "By wearing the sash, Naomi represents her family, her identity as a Mexican American and her culture during this important occasion."

The sash, designed in the style of a serape, was a gift from her older brother and represents the U.S. and Mexican flags. It has the words "Class of 2023" embroidered on it.

In a phone call with Ms. Villasano's sister-in-law, the principal of Grand Valley High School in Parachute, Colo., about 200 miles west of Denver, reaffirmed that Ms. Villasano would not be permitted to wear her sash at graduation but acknowledged that there was no written school or district policy about regalia worn on or over graduation gowns, the suit said.

Ms. Villasano's sister-in-law then called the superintendent, who said the district, Garfield County School District 16, did not allow the display of flags because "that would open the door to a student wearing a Confederate flag pin or another flag that would cause offense," the suit said.

In the hopes of persuading district leaders to change their stance, Ms. Villasano this month attended a district board meeting.

"I'm a 200 percenter — 100 percent American and 100 percent Mexican," she said in her remarks, according to the lawsuit. "I was born in the United States but my parents are Mexican immigrants who came here for a better life."

Thomas Saenz, president and general counsel of the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund, which is representing Ms. Villasano, noted that the school said it would allow other students to wear sashes celebrating their Native American or Pacific Islander heritage at graduation. That, he said, violates the Equal Protection Clause of the U.S. Constitution.

"The fact that there are so many cases like this should raise concerns for all of us," he said.

Ms. Villasano's lawyers argued that wearing the sash at the graduation ceremony on Saturday was private speech protected by the First Amendment that warranted intervention from the court.

'I'm a 200 percenter — 100 percent American and 100 percent Mexican.'

At a hearing in response to an emergency motion seeking permission to wear the sash, Judge Nina Y. Wang sided with the school district.

"Although it is true that many pieces of regalia that complement the cap and gown are worn at the graduate's option, this court finds that, in the context of Grand Valley High School's graduation ceremony, any such expression is subject to the school district's discretion and supervision as a matter of course," Judge Wang wrote in her ruling.

In a statement, Ms. Villasano said she was at "a loss of words over the decision," adding that she was "incredibly saddened" that she could not celebrate with her family the way she wanted to.

The district said it was pleased with the decision.

"This is not an issue about a student's ability to express her pride in her culture and heritage," Jennifer Baugh, the superintendent, said in a statement. "She, and all her classmates, have an avenue for this expression by decorating their mortar boards on their graduation caps, including appropriate nationalistic endorsements."

Ms. Villasano's case comes amid disputes elsewhere about what is protected free speech at commencement ceremonies.

In Oklahoma on Thursday, the State Legislature overrode Gov. Kevin Stitt's veto of a bill allowing students to wear Native American regalia at high school and college graduations.

DAISY JASMIN ESTRADA BORJA, VIA AP

Naomi Peña Villasano cannot wear this sash, with the U.S. and Mexican flags, at her high school graduation in Colorado.

Lawyer Cites Cases Made Up by Chatbot

From Page A1

that has revealed itself to be unreliable."

Mr. Schwartz, who has practiced law in New York for three decades, told Judge P. Kevin Castel that he had no intent to deceive the court or the airline. Mr. Schwartz said that he had never used ChatGPT, and "therefore was unaware of the possibility that its content could be false."

He had, he told Judge Castel, even asked the program to verify that the cases were real.

It had said yes.

Mr. Schwartz said he "greatly regrets" relying on ChatGPT "and will never do so in the future without absolute verification of its authenticity."

Judge Castel said in an order that he had been presented with "an unprecedented circumstance," a legal submission replete with "bogus judicial decisions, with bogus quotes and bogus internal citations." He ordered a hearing for June 8 to discuss potential sanctions.

As artificial intelligence sweeps the online world, the fear of being replaced has been especially intense for knowledge workers, many of whom worry that their daily activities may not be as rarefied as the world thinks — but for which the world pays billable hours.

Stephen Gillers, a legal ethics professor at New York University School of Law, said the issue was particularly acute among lawyers.

"The discussion now among the bar is how to avoid exactly what this case describes," Mr. Gillers said. "You cannot just take the output and cut and paste it into your court filings."

The real-life case of Roberto Mata v. Avianca Inc. shows that white-collar professions may have at least a little time left before the robots take over.

It began when Mr. Mata was a passenger on Avianca Flight 670 from El Salvador to New York on Aug. 27, 2019, when an airline employee bonked him with the serving cart, according to the lawsuit. After Mr. Mata sued, the airline filed papers asking that the case be dismissed because the statute of limitations had expired.

In a brief filed in March, Mr. Mata's lawyers said the lawsuit should continue, bolstering their argument with references and quotes from the many court decisions that have since been debunked.

Soon, Avianca's lawyers wrote to Judge Castel, saying they were unable to find the cases that were cited in the brief.

When it came to Varghese v. China Southern Airlines, they said they had "not been able to locate this case by caption or citation, nor any case bearing any resemblance to it."

NICOLAS ECONOMOU/NURPHOTO, VIA GETTY IMAGES

The lawsuit stemmed from an incident in which a metal serving cart struck a passenger's knee on an Avianca flight to New York.

They pointed to a lengthy quote from the purported Varghese decision contained in the brief. "The undersigned has not been able to locate this quotation, nor anything like it in any case," Avianca's lawyers wrote.

Indeed, the lawyers added, the quotation, which came from Varghese itself, cited something called Zicherman v. Korean Air Lines Co. Ltd., an opinion purportedly handed down by the U.S. Court of Appeals for the 11th Circuit in 2008. They said they could not find that, either.

Judge Castel ordered Mr. Mata's attorneys to provide copies of the opinions referred to in their brief. The lawyers submitted a compendium of eight; in most cases, they listed the court and judges who issued them, the docket numbers and dates.

The copy of the supposed Varghese decision, for example, is six pages long and says it was written by a member of a three-judge panel of the 11th Circuit. But Avianca's lawyers told the judge that they could not find that opinion, or the others, on court dockets or legal databases.

Bart Banino, a lawyer for Avianca, said that his firm, Condon & Forsyth, specialized in aviation law and that its lawyers could tell the cases in the brief were not real. He added that they had an inkling a chatbot might have been involved.

Mr. Schwartz did not respond to a message seeking comment, nor did Peter LoDuca, another lawyer at the firm, whose name appeared on the brief.

Mr. LoDuca said in an affidavit that he did not conduct any of the research in question, and that he had "no reason to doubt the sincerity" of Mr. Schwartz's work or the authenticity of the opinions.

ChatGPT generates realistic responses by making guesses about which fragments of text should follow other sequences, based on a statistical model that has ingested billions of examples of text pulled from all over the internet. In Mr. Mata's case, the program appears to have discerned the labyrinthine framework of a written legal argument, but has populated it with names and facts from a bouillabaisse of existing cases.

Judge Castel, in his order calling for a hearing, suggested that he had made his own inquiry. He wrote that the clerk of the 11th Circuit had confirmed that the docket number printed on the purported Varghese opinion was connected to an entirely different case.

Calling the opinion "bogus," Judge Castel noted that it contained internal citations and quotes that, in turn, were nonexistent. He said that five of the other decisions submitted by Mr. Mata's lawyers also appeared to be fake.

On Thursday, Mr. Mata's lawyers offered affidavits containing their version of what had happened.

Mr. Schwartz wrote that he had originally filed Mr. Mata's lawsuit in state court, but after the airline had it transferred to Manhattan's federal court, where Mr. Schwartz is not admitted to practice, one of his colleagues, Mr. LoDuca, became the attorney of record. Mr. Schwartz said he had continued to do the legal research, in which Mr. LoDuca had no role.

Mr. Schwartz said that he had consulted ChatGPT "to supplement" his own work and that, "in consultation" with it, found and cited the half-dozen nonexistent cases. He said ChatGPT had provided reassurances.

"Is varghese a real case," he typed, according to a copy of the exchange that he submitted to the judge.

"Yes," the chatbot replied, offering a citation and adding that it "is a real case."

Mr. Schwartz dug deeper.

"What is your source," he wrote, according to the filing.

"I apologize for the confusion earlier," ChatGPT responded, offering a legal citation.

"Are the other cases you provided fake," Mr. Schwartz asked.

ChatGPT responded, "No, the other cases I provided are real and can be found in reputable legal databases."

But, alas, they could not be.

Sheelagh McNeil contributed research.

4_97642216

Tennessee Law Sows Fear Among Drag Artists Before Pride Month

PHOTOGRAPHS BY LUCY GARRETT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Vivica Steele, above, who hosts a bingo night at Acme Feed and Seed, is among the Nashville drag artists who perform with touring musicians. Renae Green-Bean performs as the drag king El Rey.

By EMILY COCHRANE

CLARKSVILLE, Tenn. — Renae Green-Bean had started taking precautions in public even before the Tennessee legislature approved a law in March limiting where "adult cabaret" can be performed.

Ms. Green-Bean had watched the uptick in legislation restricting L.G.B.T.Q. rights and worried that restaurant nights with her wife, children or grandchildren, or her preference for masculine attire and closely cropped hair, would invite harassment. So she could not help worrying that the new law would make her feel less safe pursuing her creative outlet: throwing on a bedazzled jacket several nights a week and transforming into El Rey, a drag king.

If a federal judge allows the law to take effect in the coming weeks, it will ban what it defines as adult cabaret performances, including by "male or female impersonators," on public property or anywhere children could view them. It will not stop the shows that Ms. Green-Bean, 46, puts on at an adults-only club in Clarksville and other clubs near the Kentucky border.

Still, she and other performers said, being seen in drag anywhere in public feels far riskier now. The law and others like it come as far-right activists have increasingly targeted drag shows across the country, with members of the Proud Boys and other protesters, sometimes heavily armed, appearing at the shows and at library story hours when drag performers read books to children.

"There is a scare factor," Ms. Green-Bean said of the law, "because they've given people the right to be hateful."

The judge temporarily blocked the law from going into effect in late March after a Memphis theater group challenged its constitutionality, but its passage has sown fear and confusion among drag performers that is unlikely to dissipate even if the law is overturned.

Ahead of a ruling that could come as soon as this week, the law is also scrambling the plans of entertainment venues, performers and event organizers preparing for Pride Month celebrations, many of which take place on city streets and in other public spots. Such events, along with all-ages drag brunches in a smattering of venues around the state, appear to be the law's main targets.

Groups planning Pride celebrations are either restricting attendance to adults or canceling drag performances — not only in Tennessee, but in Florida, Montana, Texas and Arkansas, which passed similar laws this year banning anyone under 18 from live performances that meet lawmakers' definition of inappropriate.

The laws have been fueled by conservative backlash as Pride parades and festivals have proliferated across the country and drag has found a firm foothold in the mainstream media. The popular reality TV show "RuPaul's Drag Race" has catapulted a number of artists to roles in movies, TV shows and musicals, and giant retailers like Target and Walmart market L.G.B.T.Q. merchandise, the focus of a new outcry ahead of Pride Month.

Despite that growing visibility in mainstream culture, many people supporting anti-drag bills — which have been debated in more than a dozen states this year — consider drag performances too mature for young people or in direct conflict with deep religious values and maintain that they need to draw the line.

The most vocal critics of drag have characterized it as invariably sexual. But as audiences have broadened, many drag artists say they have adapted their performances, making them appropriate for drag brunches and public events like Pride parades when children might be present.

"Drag performers were already regulating themselves," said Vanessa Rodley, the president of Mid-South Pride. "They did not need the government to come and regulate them."

Even with the law on hold, Ms. Rodley has spent weeks reviewing costumes and music for the dozens of drag artists scheduled to appear at Mid-South Pride's festival in Memphis next month. To avoid any photos or video clips that could be taken out of context and used to imply suspect behavior in front of children, she has also ruled out onstage costume changes or accepting tips by hand, a common practice at drag shows.

The Tennessee law grew out of a conflict last year in Jackson, a city between Memphis and Nashville, where two state lawmakers and some members of a local church sued to stop a drag show from taking place at a public park during the city's annual Pride festival. A settlement restricted the event to people 18 and older.

Soon after, one of the lawmakers, State Representative Chris Todd, sponsored the bill criminalizing adult cabaret in certain settings. A first offense under the law would be a misdemeanor, punishable by up to nearly a year in jail and a fine of $2,500. Subsequent offenses would be felonies, punishable by up to six years in prison and a fine of up to $3,000.

Testifying in favor of Tennessee's measure this year, Adam Dooley, pastor of the Englewood Baptist Church in Jackson, said that while adults "have every right" to see a drag performance, "They do not have a right to insist that children be present, and frankly, I question whether there is some sinister motive that would drive the demand for children to be present."

Opponents of the law and others like it say that they echo a decades-old anti-L.G.B.T.Q. smear by suggesting that performers prey on children.

Benjamin Slinkard, who performs as Kennedy Ann Scott, the resident drag queen at the Lipstick Lounge in Nashville, said he saw a motivation for the law that had nothing to do with protecting minors: "A group of humans who are completely OK being themselves and sharing that with the world, I think, terrifies people who have only seen the world from one point of view."

The crackdown on drag performances belies the deep history of drag artistry in the South, which started long before it became a mainstay in the region's biggest entertainment districts.

Sarah Calise, the founder and director of Nashville Queer History, a project dedicated to the history of the city's L.G.B.T.Q. community, said that drag largely began in the region with white men performing as women in 19th century minstrel blackface shows before expanding through vaudeville and then L.G.B.T.Q. clubs.

Later, performers were required to carry identification cards and saw their clubs targeted by the police and by arsonists in Tennessee, even as the state became the birthplace for Miss Gay America, now a 51-year-old drag pageant.

Now, many drag artists have résumés studded with pageantry titles or appearances with Nashville's music stars, while also lip-syncing and dancing at variety shows or weekend brunches crowded with groups visiting for bachelorette weekends.

In interviews, several performers reflected on how drag has been an antidote to the loneliness and pain they experienced in childhood, as their deeply religious or conservative communities ostracized L.G.B.T.Q. people. Having watched their own families struggle to understand their sexual or gender identity or their passion for drag, many performers accept that some parents may not be comfortable with their children seeing a drag show, even one with family-friendly routines.

Miami Miller, a drag performer who takes care of a young nephew with earnings from performing at Atomic Rose, a club in Memphis, said the boy "is aware of what I do, and he's super proud of me." Attending his first drag show for Mother's Day this month, Mx. Miller said, the boy marveled at the performers' transformations and spent the rest of the day talking about it.

"It's like any other parent when you're around a child," Mx. Miller said. "I try to keep everything appropriate around children."

Overlooked as legislators rush to define what types of live entertainment are unsuitable for minors, several artists said, are the rights of parents who see benefits — including learning about self-expression and acceptance — to their children experiencing drag.

"For a little kid like me, who knew at a very young age that I was different, it would have been powerful to see myself in someone else and to know that there was a future for me," said Slade Kyle, 43, who works as Bella DuBalle, the show director and host at Atomic Rose, who is now one of the most outspoken drag performers in the state.

At a recent all-ages brunch at Atomic Rose, Ms. DuBalle brought Elizabeth, a 9-year-old fan, onstage to dance after chatting with her about the challenges of elementary school.

Her father, Seth Bowlin, 33, recalled initially rejecting his own father for being gay and a drag performer in Memphis, before embracing him. Taking his daughter to drag shows was an opportunity to model acceptance, Mr. Bowlin said, and to let her know "we will support her" no matter who she grows up to be.

In Clarksville, Ms. Green-Bean and her wife, Lizette, say they will continue performing a few nights a week for now, dancing with each other or taking the spotlight alone with the support of their children in what feels an escape from the world's expectations.

"Sometimes you get lost in who society and everybody else wants you to be as a mom," Lizette, 43, said. "Drag is a place where you don't have to be that. You don't have to be what is your typical, daily label."

Winnie the Pooh Says, 'Run, Hide, Fight'

By JESUS JIMÉNEZ

The school district in Dallas has drawn backlash from parents after giving elementary school students a Winnie the Pooh-themed book that teaches children how to "run, hide, fight" in dangerous situations like a mass shooting.

Cindy Campos, whose two children attend an elementary school in the Dallas Independent School District, said that she wasn't sure what to do when her youngest son, who is in prekindergarten, came home from school last week with the book, titled "Stay Safe."

The book, Ms. Campos said, had been tucked into her son's backpack with no note or instructions.

"If danger is near, do not fear," the book reads. "Hide like Pooh does until the police appear."

At first, Ms. Campos said that she wondered if it was a gift from her son's teacher. But later that evening, she found the same book in the backpack of her older son, a first grader. That's when she said she started to wonder whether the book was an initiative from the school district.

"The book was not something I wanted," Ms. Campos said. "It's unsolicited advice."

Other parents also complained, wondering why the book was given out without instruction and calling the distribution "tone deaf" for being shared so close to the anniversary of a mass shooting at an elementary school in Uvalde, Texas, where 19 students and two teachers were killed.

The distribution of the book also came about a week after a gunman shot and killed eight people, including three children, at an outdoor mall on May 6 in Allen, Texas, a suburb north of Dallas.

"After you read a book to them, they have like 50 questions," Ms. Campos said. "How do you go to bed letting them know, 'Yeah, this is what you do if you get shot up at school,' and then let them go to sleep?"

"That's a nightmare waiting to happen," she said.

The book also drew the attention of Gov. Gavin Newsom of California, who said on Twitter on

Dallas school district apologizes after book draws parents' ire.

Tuesday that "Winnie the Pooh is now teaching Texas kids about active shooters because the elected officials do not have the courage to keep our kids safe and pass common sense gun safety laws."

In a statement on Friday, the school district said that the book was sent home "so parents could discuss with their children how to stay safe" in dangerous situations at schools, like a shooting. Still, the district conceded that it should have given parents guidance about the book.

"We work every day to prevent school shootings by dealing with online threats and by hardening our schools," the district said in an email. "Recently a booklet was sent home so parents could discuss with their children how to stay safe in such cases. Unfortunately, we did not provide parents any guide or context. We apologize for the confusion and are thankful to parents who reached out to assist us in being better partners."

The district did not disclose how many books were distributed or which schools and grades received them.

The Texas Education Agency, which oversees schools across the state, said on Friday that the book was not part of an agencywide initiative, and deferred questions about the book to the Dallas school district.

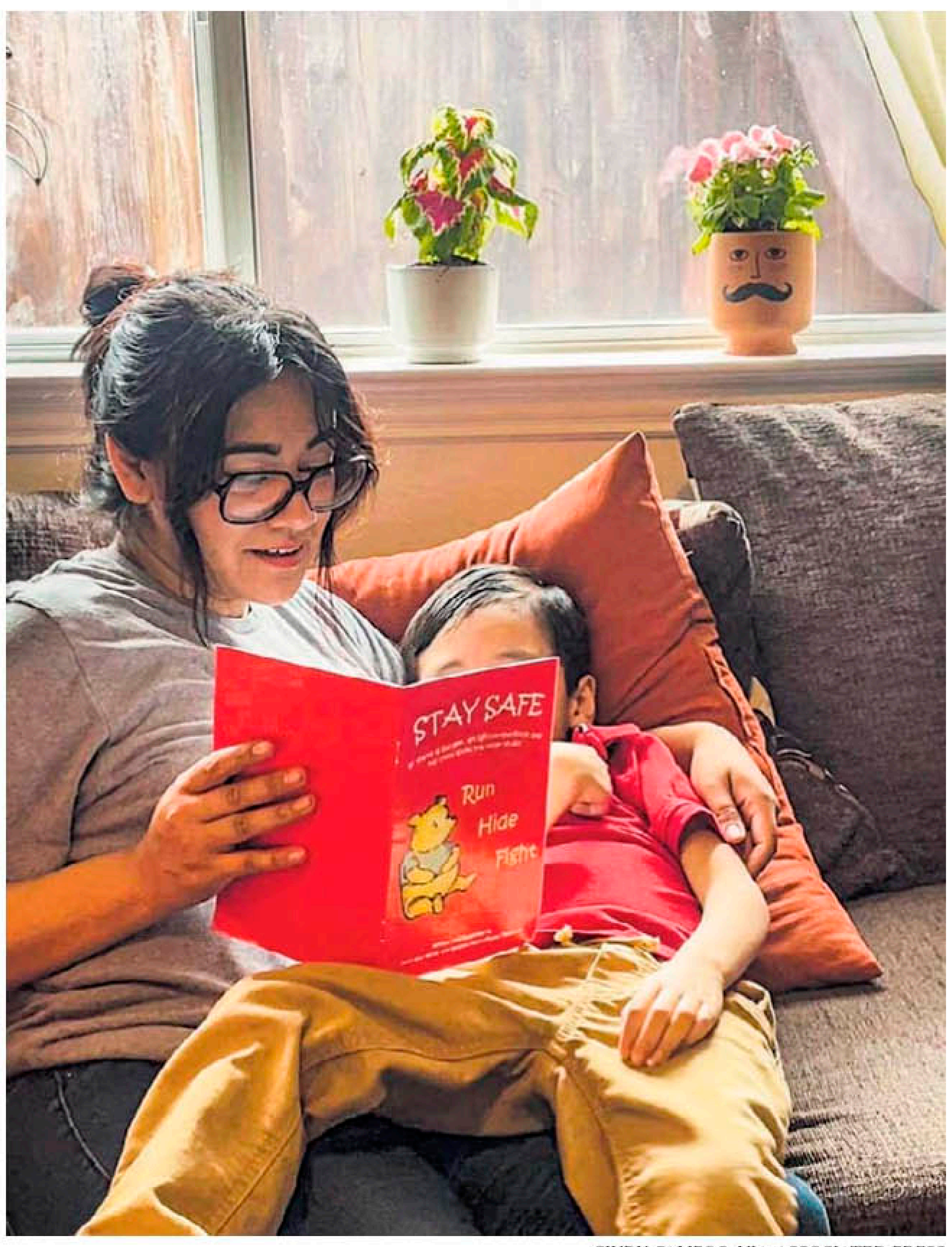
Ms. Campos said that the book has not been addressed by the school's principal or its teachers. The school's principal did not respond to a request for comment on Friday.

The book is published by Praetorian Consulting, a Houston-based firm that provides safety, security, and crisis management training and services. It did not respond to requests for comment on Friday.

The book, which was written by Ken Adcox, the owner of Praetorian, and Brittany Adcox-Flores, does not explicitly mention guns. Instead, it refers to threats as "danger" and "something that is not right."

Mr. Adcox did not immediately respond to a request for comment on Friday, and Ms. Adcox-Flores could not immediately be reached.

The "Stay Safe" book was created by Texas police officers and teachers to teach elementary school students how to "remain safe and protect themselves



CINDY CAMPOS, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS

Cindy Campos reading "Stay Safe" to one of her sons. "I'm finishing the book crying, and he's like, 'Why are you crying?'" she said.

should a dangerous school intrusion take place," Praetorian said on its website.

The company said that the material, which features "the well-known and beloved characters" of Winnie the Pooh, teaches the "run, hide, fight" response, which is recommend in an active shooter situation by the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the U.S. Department of Homeland Security.

Winnie the Pooh, which was originally published in 1926, entered the public domain last year, allowing for adaptations of its characters.

"It is our belief," Praetorian said, "that as with other school safety strategies like fire drills, pedestrian safety and stranger-danger, the concepts of Run, Hide, Fight must be discussed regularly with students of all ages."

The National Association of School Psychologists recommends that parents and teachers who talk to elementary school children about violence should give "brief, simple information that should be balanced with reassurances that their school and homes are safe and that adults are there to protect them," according to guidance from the organization.

Parents and teachers should remind young children of examples of safety, like locked doors, the organization said in guidance on its website. The National Association of School Psychologists did not respond to a request for comment about the Winnie the Pooh book.

Ms. Campos said that the school district's distribution of the book felt like an attempt to "normalize" a wave of gun violence across the country.

"It's heartbreaking," Ms. Campos said of having to talk to her children about gun violence. "We shouldn't have to talk to them about it, and it's so hard as a parent."

Eventually, Ms. Campos said, she relented and read the book to her youngest son, who is 5.

"There was no way he was not going to let me read it," Ms. Campos said, adding that her son was interested because of Winnie the Pooh.

"I'm finishing the book crying, and he's like, 'Why are you crying?'"

More National news appears on Page A18.

Opinion

The New York Times

Frenemies May Be Hazardous to Your Health

Adam Grant
A contributing Opinion writer who is an organizational psychologist at Wharton, the author of "Think Again" and the host of the TED podcast "Re:Thinking."

MILAGROS PICO

IT'S been two decades, but I still feel jittery when I think of an old boss of mine. One day she nominated me for an award for service to the organization. Then she threatened to fire me for raising a concern about a colleague being mistreated. "If you ever speak up out of turn again," she said, "I'll have you fired." I walked on eggshells until the day she quit.

We often think about relationships on a spectrum from positive to negative. We gravitate toward loving family members, caring classmates and supportive mentors. We do our best to avoid the cruel uncle, the playground bully and the jerk boss.

But the most toxic relationships aren't the purely negative ones. They're the ones that are a mix of positive and negative.

We often call them frenemies, supposed friends who sometimes help you and sometimes hurt you. But it's not just friends. It's the in-laws who volunteer to watch your kids but belittle your parenting. The roommate who gets you through a breakup and then starts dating your ex. The manager who praises your work but denies you a promotion.

Everyone knows how relationships like that can tie your stomach into a knot. But groundbreaking research spearheaded by the psychologists Bert Uchino and Julianne Holt-Lunstad shows that ambivalent relationships can be damaging to your health — even more than purely negative relationships. One study found that adults had higher blood pressure after interacting with people who evoked mixed feelings than after similar interactions with those who evoked negative feelings.

You can see it at work, too. An independent team of researchers found that Slovenian police officers whose supervisor both supported and demeaned them reported more health problems and were more likely to miss work than officers who said their supervisor only undermined them. And among older adults, the more ambivalent relationships they had in their lives, the more depressed they felt, the more their heart rates spiked under stress and the more their blood pressure climbed in response to stress over the next 10 months.

I had assumed that with a neighbor or a colleague, having some positive interactions was better than all negative interactions. But being cheered on by the same person who cuts you down doesn't buffer the bad feelings; it amplifies them. And it's not just in your head: It leaves a trace in your heart and your blood.

Even a single ambivalent interaction can take a toll, and it's causation, not correlation. In one experiment, people gave impromptu speeches on controversial topics in front of a friend who offered feedback. Unbeknown to the participants, the researchers had randomly assigned the friend to give ambivalent or negative comments. Receiving mixed feedback caused higher blood pressure than pure criticism. "I would have gone about the topic differently, but you're doing fine" proved to be more distressing than "I totally disagree with everything you've said."

The evidence that ambivalent relationships can be bad for us is strong, but the reasons can be harder to read — just like the relationships themselves.

The most intuitive reason is that ambivalent relationships are unpredictable. With a clear enemy, you put up a shield when you cross paths. With a frenemy, you never know whether Dr. Jekyll or Mr. Hyde is going to show up. Ambivalence short-circuits the parasympathetic nervous system and activates a fight-or-flight response. It's unnerving to hope for a hug while bracing yourself for a brawl.

Another factor is that unpleasant interactions are more painful in an ambivalent relationship. It's more upsetting to be let down by people you like sometimes than by people you dislike all the time. When someone stabs you in the back, it stings more if he's been friendly to your face.

When someone stabs you in the back, it stings more if he's been nice to your face.

Finally, ambivalence is an invitation for rumination. We agonize about ambiguous comments, unsure what to make of them and whether to trust the people who make them. We dwell on our mixed feelings, torn between avoiding our frenemies and holding out hope that they'll change.

Although frenemies are the people who hurt us the most, we're much slower to drop them than enemies. In our lives, we have about as many ambivalent relationships as supportive connections. And we don't seem to get better with age at handling them. (Of course, although no relationship is purely positive, any relationship that crosses the line into being abusive should be jettisoned.)

Early in my career, I invested a great deal of energy in mentoring a student. I thought it was a positive relationship, but she chose a different adviser. When I asked for feedback, I learned that the relationship had looked different from where she stood. On the one hand, she appreciated my rapid responses and clear guidance. On the other hand, my answers were too directive: I was silencing her voice and crowding out her ideas. What I thought was being supportive was actually undermining her autonomy. As Anne Lamott puts it, "Help is the sunny side of control."

It's all too rare for us to exchange this kind of feedback. Sometimes we end up avoiding or ghosting the people who stress us out in this way. It isn't always a deliberate decision; we procrastinate on replies and put off lunches until the relationship fizzles. Other times, we just grit our teeth and tolerate ambivalent relationships as they are.

A relationship in which you can't be candid isn't a relationship at all; it's a charade. Research shows that we tend to underestimate how open people are to constructive suggestions. Feedback doesn't always lead to change, but change doesn't happen without feedback. The goal is to be as candid as possible in what you say and as caring as possible in how you say it. As Brené Brown emphasizes, "Clear is kind."

I've seen people try to address ambivalence by declaring, "This relationship isn't healthy for me." That isn't kind: It's often received as "You're a bad person" when the reality is inevitably more complicated. An ambivalent relationship deserves a more nuanced, more accurate message: "The mix of good and bad here isn't healthy for us."

Not every ambivalent relationship can or should be salvaged. A few years ago, my old boss reached out to say she'd enjoyed one of my articles. It felt too late to tell her how stressful I had found it to be in constant limbo, not knowing whether she was going to lift me up or kick me down. I wonder if she'll end up reading about it here — and if she remembers our interactions with mixed feelings, too.

Holding Out for a Hero in the G.O.P.

Michelle Cottle
A member of the editorial board.

AT THIS point, it seems a little gratuitous to pick at the scab of Gov. Ron DeSantis's not-so-dazzling presidential campaign opening. Let us just stipulate that when your long-anticipated announcement jump-starts #DeSaster trending on social media, things could have gone better.

No rival is even trying to land direct punches on the MAGA king.

The feeble rollout wouldn't much matter if the Florida governor were otherwise dominating the Republican primary race or even holding steady. But he isn't. Slipping poll numbers, questionable policy moves, the people skills of a Roomba — his multiplying red flags have landed the Republican Party in the odd position of having not one but two problematic front-runners: its original MAGA king and the lead runner in its Anyone but Trump lane.

So where does the race go from here? Most likely nowhere new, unless someone steps up with a fresh approach to the Trump problem. Because so far, the pack of pretenders to Donald Trump's throne reeks of weakness. And nothing delights the MAGA king more than curb-stomping the weak.

A presidential field without a strong front-runner invariably invites a pile-in of challengers. Every Tim, Nikki and Vivek — and Asa, Doug, Larry, Mike, etc. — surveys the scene and thinks: *Heck yeah, why not me?* Why not, indeed?

Given the topsy-turvy state of the political terrain, is it really much more ridiculous for Vivek Ramaswamy, the upstart tech entrepreneur, to think he has a shot at the nomination than for Mike Pence to? No rampaging MAGA mob has ever brayed for his hanging, so in some regards, he has a critical edge on the former vice president.

A host of seasoned politicians, along with characters no one has ever heard of, are out there right now poring over the results of test polls and focus groups, talking with players in Iowa and New Hampshire, huddling with big donors and strategists.

Fueling the frenzy, twitchy donors are casting about for a more promising champion than Mr. DeSantis, pressuring their favorite white knights to join the tournament. Listen closely and you can hear the phones chirping in the offices of popular Republican governors such as Chris Sununu, Glenn Youngkin and Brian Kemp.

Even as the mass of pretenders to Mr. Trump's throne grows, the energy from the field remains stubbornly subdued. The pretenders have adopted a stance of nonaggression, an unwillingness to come hard at the MAGA king. The reasoning behind that is no secret. The former president feeds on conflict like a vampire on virgins. But the result is a collection of challengers trying to sell beta-male energy to a voting base hooked on outrage, machismo and blood lust.

The whole vibe of the Republican contest feels increasingly passive-aggressive, with the pretenders giving Mr. Trump the side eye as they throw varying degrees of shade. The most direct (like Asa Hutchinson) somberly discuss the former president's character flaws and lament that his antidemocratic behavior has disqualified him from high office.

Far more often, the candidates lard their electoral pitches with veiled criticisms about how governing is about more than salty tweets or how the presidency isn't about building a personal brand — all while avoiding Mr. Trump's name, of course.

Even Mr. DeSantis, who fancies himself a fighter, won't risk a full frontal assault. His people have said he plans to be strategic with his criticisms — more shiv than sledgehammer. How cool. How strategic. But you know what happens when someone takes a sledgehammer to a shiv, right?

If Republicans are serious about dislodging Mr. Trump, this race needs a jolt. Soon. No one knows exactly what might do the trick, but those weary of groveling before him would do well to start experimenting — for the sake of the party more than even their own ambitions. At the very least, someone needs to climb into the ring with the willingness and disposition to throw a direct punch. Metaphorically, of course.

Chris Christie, a former governor of New Jersey, has been making noises as if he wants to be that guy. In a recent interview with Politico, he vowed that if he runs, he will tackle Mr. Trump's weaknesses head-on, from the character troubles to the record of losing. (So much losing.) "I don't believe that Republican voters penalize people who criticize Trump," he asserted.

To pull this off, Mr. Christie would need to go all in on his no-nonsense, in-your-face, Jersey tough-guy shtick — the one where he yells at people to sit down and shut up — and quash the sycophantic streak that had him smooching Mr. Trump's backside for years.

If he could go bully-a-bully with the former president, things could get interesting for the first time in forever. In 2016, no Republicans went hard at Mr. Trump because no one took him seriously. This time, most are too afraid of him. They are still hoping to find some magical way to woo his voters without his noticing or fighting back.

Good luck with that.

This race needs a brawler in the mix — if not Mr. Christie, then someone else with that inclination.

Omar Little, the drug-dealer-robbing philosopher on "The Wire," once observed, "You come at the king, you best not miss." But if everyone is too chicken — excuse me, too *strategic* — to seriously come at the king at all, how can anyone expect a regime change?

Many More Deserve Honor on Memorial Day

Kayla M. Williams

A senior policy researcher at RAND and an assistant secretary in the Department of Veterans Affairs during the Biden administration.

IN 1866, four women placing spring flowers on the graves of Confederate soldiers at Friendship Cemetery in Columbus, Miss., noticed that the nearby graves of Union soldiers were barren. They took it upon themselves to decorate those, too.

Lately, I have been thinking about those women as Memorial Day approaches. Their decision to expand the notion of whom they chose to remember lies at the heart of what Memorial Day should be about. For those women in Mississippi, the Union soldiers, enemies in a war that divided not only a nation but also families and left some 750,000 dead, also deserved respect and flowers.

Their gesture, memorialized by F.M. Finch's poem "The Blue and the Gray" in The Atlantic Monthly in 1867, was one of numerous expressions of remembrance around the country after the Civil War that gave rise to what today is Memorial Day. The United States has set aside the day to remember, honor and salute our fallen service members. But not all of those we should recognize fit neatly into that box.

Take, as an example, some of the first U.S. deaths in World War I: Edith Ayres and Helen Burnett Wood, two Army nurses killed by shrapnel when a naval gun exploded during target practice while they were traveling by Navy ship to Europe. They were Red Cross nurses who were inducted into the Army, serving without rank or commission, since women's status as soldiers was not yet settled. They probably are not among those who spring to mind when we imagine American military deaths in that war, yet they made the ultimate sacrifice in service to the nation while on their way to save lives.

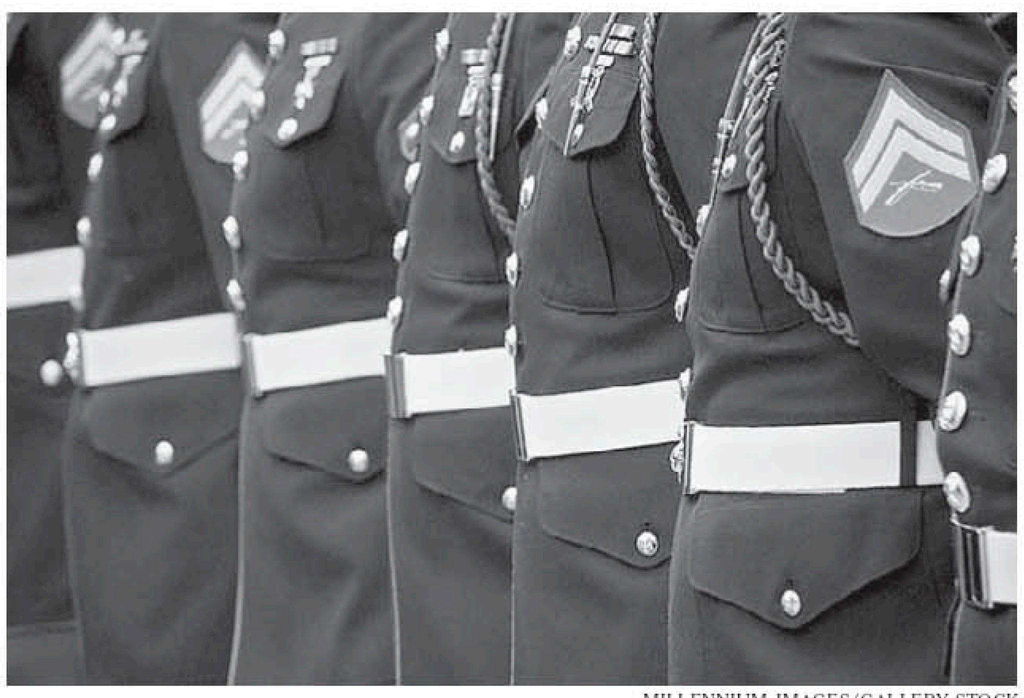
A more recent example, much closer to me, is someone I served with in the 101st Airborne Division. While I worked in signals intelligence in Iraq, my friend Alyssa Peterson worked in human intelligence. In 2003, near Mosul, she killed herself, and though her name is recorded on lists of those who died in Operation Iraqi Freedom, deaths like hers are often viewed differently from those in combat, perhaps because of the stigma attached to suicide.

And what of veterans who end their lives after they have returned? In 2020, more than 6,100 veterans died by suicide. Last year, Dean Lambert wrote in Military Times about the suicide of his son, Adam, a Marine who died a year after returning home from Afghanistan. "When I found him lifeless, wearing his desert combat uniform, clutching his dog tags in his left hand, there was no doubt he brought the war back with him," Mr. Lambert wrote.

Memorial Day, he argued, should be for "remembering not only the heroes who lost their lives from physical wounds, but those who also died fighting mental injuries they sustained on the same battlefields."

How someone dies is not the only factor that influences how we honor our war dead. When matters, too. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial, better known as the Wall, is inscribed with over 58,000 names of Americans who died in or supporting combat or within 120 days of injuries or illnesses incurred in the combat zone.

It's the 120 days that gets me. What of those who died years later from what they were exposed to in Vietnam? We now know that



MILLENNIUM IMAGES/GALLERY STOCK

People we might not think of also made the ultimate sacrifice.

Agent Orange is associated with health problems, including cancer and Parkinson's. An untold number of veterans have died of those service-connected conditions. Their names will not be inscribed on the Wall, though the Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund is seeking to memorialize them in other ways.

Toxic exposures are not limited to those who served in Vietnam. My friend Kate Hendricks Thomas died of breast cancer last year; her doctors told her the cause was most likely the chemicals from burn pits she was exposed to during her time as a Marine in Iraq. I will forever mourn and honor her, too, among our war dead this and every Memorial Day, whether or not her name is ever inscribed on a list of those killed in the global war on terrorism.

And how might we consider the long-term psychological or spiritual trauma that those who experience war so often suffer? I'm talking about those who died from substance use, excessive risk taking or the cumulative stresses of homelessness. Even if they were not killed *in* action, many no doubt were killed *by* action. Should we inscribe their names on war memorials as well? Their families' grief, I promise you, is just as deep. Their wounds, though less visible, were as grievous.

Congress, for one, seems to be taking a more expansive approach to government responsibility for these long-term health consequences of military service.

Lawmakers recently expanded the Department of Veterans Affairs' funding for suicide prevention programs. Congress also lengthened the list of health conditions presumed to be related to toxic exposures during military service, expanding benefits not only for veterans but also for surviving family members of those who died before these new benefits became law.

These widening notions of whom we honor, and how, are signs of progress — but they are just a start. After I came home from Iraq in 2004 and found myself a stranger in a country seemingly oblivious to war, I encountered a quotation from Gen. Douglas MacArthur that resonated with me deeply: "The soldier, above all other people, prays for peace, for he must suffer and bear the deepest wounds and scars of war."

But today, for this Memorial Day, I wonder whether such a sentiment rings true.

I'm thinking about Ukraine, where Russian forces have tortured, raped, and summarily killed men, women and children and have destroyed homes, hospitals, schools, power plants and churches. And Syria, where millions have fled their homes, spikes in poverty have led to hunger and a child's life expectancy has declined by 13 years. And Sudan, where gun battles are taking place in residential neighborhoods, morgues are filling with bodies and the health care system is collapsing.

Such atrocities remind us that the cost of war is not borne solely by soldiers on the field of battle and that for too many, the field of battle is unavoidable. In Iraq, for instance, the United States lost 4,418 military personnel, and nearly half a million civilians died in the war and the eight-year American occupation.

These civilians did not volunteer. They did not sign up, as I did, nor were they drafted, like others whose names we inscribe on our war memorials. And yet they died just the same. Their families mourn just as deeply. How should we remember them? Can we make space in our hearts for them, too, this Memorial Day?

If you have thoughts of suicide, call or text 988 for the 988 Suicide and Crisis Lifeline (veterans press 1) or, for a list of additional resources, go to SpeakingOfSuicide.com/resources.

LETTERS

Living With Losing a Child: 'I Feel Your Pain'

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "My Daughter's Future Was Taken From Her, and From Us," by Sarah Wildman (Opinion, May 21):

My heart aches for the writer of this essay, and as someone who has also lost a child, I can assure you that there is no greater pain.

My daughter, Luna, was 1 month old when she died last year as a result of injuries sustained in a car accident. It doesn't matter if your child is 35 years old or 1 month old: Losing them shreds the entire fabric of your reality. The devastating loss and emptiness you are left holding becomes the new foundation that you unwillingly and without choice must rebuild your life upon.

Grief doesn't get easier; it just gets different.

JEFFREY PASSOW
INDIANAPOLIS

TO THE EDITOR:

Sarah Wildman's wrenching essay about life after the death of her adolescent daughter Orli gives language to the raw agony of one's child dying. As a fellow journeyer on this road, I (Elena Lister) see the enormous value of her gift at writing.

I, too, found that I needed to direct my pain to bring some good to this world, to help our daughter Liza's death have meaning. And I was fortunate to find a colleague (Michael Schwartzman) who could bear witness and be unflinching yet openhearted about his experiences. As the co-author of our book, he joined me in bringing forward how essential it is that we all become able to talk with children about illness, death and loss.

Both of us find that those who do choose to talk with their children with honesty, compassion and freedom from judgment reinforce memories, create enduring bonds and build resilience. Most significantly, as Ms. Wildman so beautifully articulates, when the intense feelings are faced together, the way through is found in connection. The antidote to loss is togetherness.

To Ms. Wildman, we say, "Please know that Orli lives on with all of us, as we learn from her and you."

ELENA LISTER
MICHAEL SCHWARTZMAN
NEW YORK

The writers, a psychiatrist and a psychologist, respectively, are co-authors of "Giving Hope: Conversations With Children About Illness, Death and Loss."

TO THE EDITOR:

Kudos and sympathy to Sarah Wildman for expressing the unimaginable: grief for a dead child. I am also a member of the Club That No One Wishes to Join. I too recall mornings waking and questioning if reality would realign.

Time heals all wounds, so says conventional wisdom. But those of us who have lost a child know that such platitudes aren't worth the thread used to embroider them on a pillow. C.S. Lewis got it right when he described heavy grief as an amputation.

To Sarah I send this message from 12 years out of such grief: Your wound will never fully heal but your pain *will* soften. You will learn to live with this amputation and recognize it as a stump you proudly hobble through life with for the love that it represents — a love that never dies.

And strangely enough, you will come to realize that along with this everlasting sorrow a small gift has been given to you. It is a gift that you would give back 100 times over to have your child again, but that is not your choice. The gift is empathy, greater than you ever thought you might possess. The ability to sit with others at their darkest hour and not look away, not need to fix things. To show up because you have been the Other.

ROSE KENT
WILMINGTON, N.C.

TO THE EDITOR:

I lost my son less than two years ago. I remember in psychology class studying the stages of grief, but I differ in my journey.

Being on or near open water has always been important to me, and grief reminds me of that. There are a few rare days when there isn't a ripple on the water, all peaceful and calm. The more typical day has small waves that come and go and remind me of my loss (like seeing a determined biker, hearing a deep laugh or reading a telling essay).

Then there are stormy days when the waves crash down and sweep me off my feet, and I wonder how I can manage. I feel your pain, Sarah Wildman.

JEAN LEWIS, SETAUKET, N.Y.

TO THE EDITOR:

Last fall, I empathized with Sarah Wildman as a mother wanting life to be normal again as she walked with her daughter Orli through her cancer diagnosis and treatments.

Little did I know then that my own 36-year-old daughter, healthy and active, full of life, a wife and mother to a baby daughter, had only a few months to live. Her warm light was taken by a series of basilar strokes in a few short days of disbelief.

Today, I'm grieving along with Sarah in the realm of mothers who have lost their child. Each morning I wake up hoping I've accidentally sidestepped into an alternate universe, and if I can just take two steps to the right I'll be back in the correct universe where my daughter is still healthy with so much life before her.

I'm anticipating reading Sarah's continued work on the pathways she, as a grieving mother, is navigating through the deep furrows of grief and reaching higher plains. I need to hear her wisdom and perspective.

LORI SMITH, SOUTHLAKE, TEXAS

For the Young, a Time to Risk, to Play, to Imagine

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "Sure, You Achieved, but What Did You Accomplish?," by Adam Gopnik (Opinion guest essay, May 18):

In a culture where even the youngest among us are bombarded with the value of pursuing résumé-driven goals, no wonder feelings of success are linked to competitive, achievement-oriented choices.

Mr. Gopnik's essay beautifully describes what is sadly becoming a lost art: setting personally imposed challenges and enjoying the process, regardless of the outcome.

Maybe it's because I raised a child with a disability (or because I too am a mediocre recreational musician) that I was so moved by Mr. Gopnik's words.

Parents like me learn very early on to find joy, meaning and encouragement from seeing their child methodically approach, fail yet persevere at tasks. We know that the activity itself — and any progress made in undertaking that challenge — is a very big deal, because it is likely to further motivate and inspire.

Feelings of accomplishment allow for the rare foray into our purest self, without the white noise of societal expectation or judgment, and as such they are truly priceless.

JANE GARFIELD FRANK
QUEENS

TO THE EDITOR:

Adam Gopnik's essay speaks to me. When I was a child growing up in Kansas, school was easy and I had no homework. When I was 8, I asked my mother what to do one afternoon. She said, "If I tell you, you won't figure it out for yourself."

So I did. The time to play and use my own imagination has been a gift ever since.

As a therapist I see many children whose eyes are heavy with fatigue. They all list homework as the thing they wish they never had. That's what I wish for them too — along with the time to think for themselves instead.

ELLEN B. LUBORSKY
DOBBS FERRY, N.Y.

A Woman's Anger

TO THE EDITOR:

Re "On TV, They Are All the Rage," by Maya Phillips (Critic's Notebook, May 24):

When I was young, I had dreams in which I'd try to scream, hands clenched, mouth and face upturned, neck veins bulging, tossing my head side to side trying to make a sound come out, so someone could hear me. But in these dreams, I could never get out a peep.

Years later I realized that these dream episodes reflected my anger and sense that I had no voice in my life at that time.

Each of us is born with anger as one of the emotions that comes with the package of being human. Hallelujah for acknowledging its existence and our expression of it, regardless of gender.

JILL MILLER ZIMON
PEPPER PIKE, OHIO

COLUMNIST | DAVID FRENCH

The Right Is All Wrong About Masculinity

THERE IS A CERTAIN irony in discussions of masculinity. The group that is most convinced of a crisis of masculinity, the American right, is also busy emasculating itself before our eyes. It correctly perceives that young men are facing an identity crisis, yet it is modeling precisely the wrong response.

The release of the Missouri senator Josh Hawley's new book on manhood is the latest peg for a national conversation about men, but the necessity of such a conversation has been apparent for some time. If there's anything that's well established in American social science, it's that men are falling behind women in higher education, suffer disproportionately from drug overdoses and are far more likely to commit suicide.

Indeed, the very definition of "masculinity" is up for grabs. In 2019, the American Psychological Association published guidelines that took direct aim at "traditional masculinity — marked by stoicism, competitiveness, dominance and aggression" — declaring it to be, "on the whole, harmful."

I strongly disagreed. Aside from "dominance," a concept with precious few virtuous uses, the other aspects of traditional masculinity the A.P.A. cited are important. Competitiveness, aggression and stoicism surely have their abuses, but they also can be indispensable in the right contexts when used for virtuous purposes.

I should note here that traditionally "masculine" virtues are not exclusively male. Women who successfully model these attributes are all around us. On my recent visit to Kyiv, I was struck by the restraint and courage of the men and women I met. In the face of the greatest of challenges, they exhibited a degree of calm conviction that's all too foreign to our domestic politics.

If you doubt the need for such stoicism in our own country, I'd point you, ironically enough, to the side of our political divide that is most critical of the A.P.A.'s conclusions: the American right. In its words, the right claims to uphold traditional masculinity; in its deeds, the story is very different.

Rudyard Kipling's poem "If—" is one of the purest distillations of restraint as a traditional manly virtue. It begins, "If you can keep your head when all about you / Are losing theirs and blaming it on you." The entire work speaks of the necessity of calmness and courage. Do not allow yourself to become too high or too low. ("If you can meet with Triumph and Disaster / And treat those two impostors just the same.") Persevere.

It's a compelling vision — although one that can become an emotional trap. Stoicism carried to excess can become a dangerous form of emotional repression. But the fact that stoicism can be taken too far is not to say that we should shun it. In times of conflict and crisis, it is the calm man or woman who can see clearly.

Instead, the new right chooses to shriek about "groomers" on Twitter.

If you spend much time on right-wing social media — especially Twitter — or listening to right-wing news outlets, you'll be struck by the hair-on-fire sense of emergency that seems to dominate all discourse.

In 2016, for example, the single most important intellectual work of the new right was an essay by Michael Anton titled "The Flight 93 Election." It began like this: "2016 is the Flight 93 election: Charge the cockpit or you die. You may die anyway. You — or the leader of your party — may make it into the cockpit and not know how to fly or land the plane. There are no guarantees. Except one: If you don't try, death is certain."

That's right: The argument was that electing Hillary Clinton, a thoroughly establishment Democrat, would mean the *end of America*. It's an argument that people never stopped making. In 2020, I debated the Christian author Eric Metaxas about whether Christians should support Donald Trump against Joe Biden. What did he argue? That Joe Biden could "genuinely destroy America forever."

Catastrophic rhetoric is omnipresent on the right. Let's go back to the "groomer" smear. It's a hallmark of right-wing rhetoric that if you disagree with the new right on any matter relating to sex or sexuality, you're not just wrong; you're a "groomer" or "soft on pedos." Did a senator vote to confirm Ketanji Brown Jackson for the Supreme Court? Then he's "pro-pedophile." Did you disagree with Florida's H.B. 1557, which restricted instruction on sexuality and gender identity? Then "you are probably a groomer."

But conservative catastrophism is only one part of the equation. The other is mean-spirited pettiness. Right-wing culture says everything is an emergency and to be combated with relentless trolling and hyperbolic insults.

Twitter, even before Elon Musk, seemed as if it had been built to contribute to a constant state of hysteria. Every perceived left-wing outrage or excess is shared far and wide. "How can you be calm?" right-wing activists demand to know. "Didn't you see that the North Face is using drag queens in its ads?"

Last month, my friend Jonah Goldberg wrote an important piece cataloging the pettiness of the young online right. "Everywhere I look these days," he wrote, "I see young conservatives believing they should behave like jerks." As Jonah noted, there are those who now believe it shows "courage and strength to be coarse or bigoted."

No one should think that this hysteria is confined to online spaces or that it ultimately remains merely petty or cruel. Hysteria plus cruelty is a recipe for violence. And that brings us back to Mr. Hawley. The traditional masculinity of which he claims to be a champion would demand that he stand firm against a howling mob. Rather, he saluted it with a raised fist — and then ran from it when it got *too* close and *too* unruly.

If the right is going to claim it defends traditional masculinity — through its books, its viral Jordan Peterson videos and its Tucker Carlson documentaries — should it not at least attempt to exhibit the best virtues of traditional masculinity? Yet rather than model the traits of Kipling's "If—," the right mimics the attitudes of the countercultural 1968 film "If . . . ," which offered a sardonic inversion of Kipling's virtues in its tale of a violent, schoolboy-led insurrection at a British boarding school.

I share many of the right's concerns about young men. I've argued that American men desperately need virtuous purpose. I reject

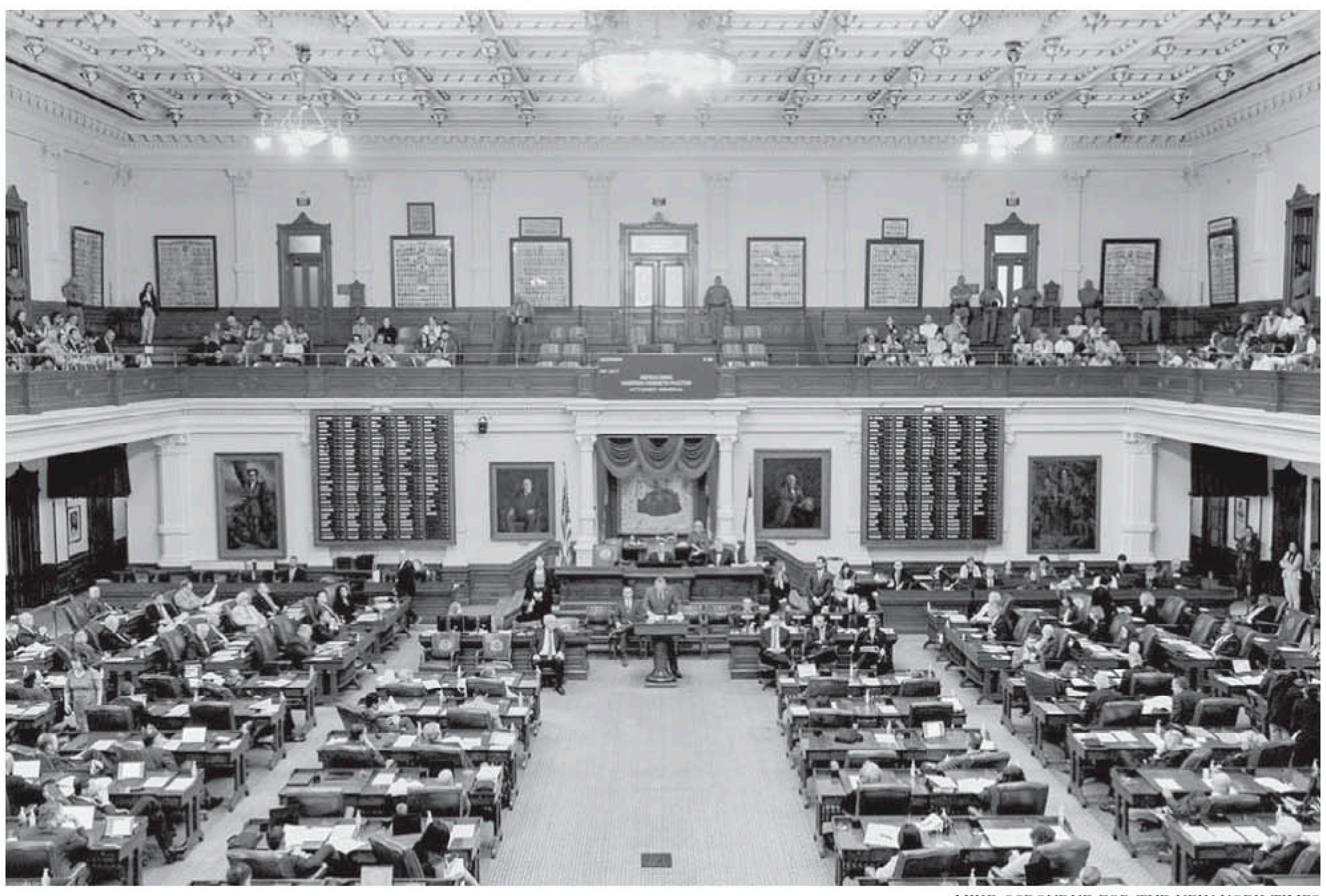
We're not seeing a healthy answer to young men's identity crisis.

the idea that traditional masculinity, properly understood, is, "on the whole, harmful." I recognize that it can be abused, but it is *good* to confront life with a sense of proportion, with calm courage and conviction.

Some of the best advice I've ever received was early in my legal career: A retired federal judge read a brief I'd drafted and admonished me to "write with regret, not outrage." Outrage is cheap, he told me. And he doubted that I, as a young lawyer, had even begun to understand what true legal outrage looked like. Husband your anger, he told me. Have patience. Gain perspective. So then, when something truly is terrible, your outrage will mean something. It was the legal admonition against crying wolf.

I worry for the young right. As Jonah wrote, all too many of them "have no frame of reference, no meaningful political experience or memory of politics prior to this shabby era, they think being shabby is normal and smart." But there is a better way. It includes paying close attention to the very masculine values they claim to uphold, and it can start with remembering a singular admonition: "Keep your head when all about you / Are losing theirs." It's a step toward reason, a step away from the emotional brink and a key to understanding what it truly takes to be a good man.

Before Impeachment, Rift Among Republicans Was Building in Texas



MIKE OSBOURNE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

ERIC GAY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

ERIC GAY/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Texas House members and visitors listened to the impeachment proceedings against the state attorney general, Ken Paxton, on Saturday, top. Mr. Paxton, above left, accused Texas House Speaker Dade Phelan, above right, of being intoxicated during a recent late-night House session.

A conflict that highlights tension over the future of a party.

By J. DAVID GOODMAN

The impeachment of the Texas attorney general, Ken Paxton, by a majority of his fellow Republicans has exposed an undercurrent of division and discontent that is roiling the Republican Party in the most populous state where it still enjoys near total political control.

While the vote in the House of Representatives on Saturday tore suddenly through the heart of Texas politics, the underlying resentments had been gathering force for months, if not years, not over individual personalities but over how Republicans should use their power and what shape the party should take in the future.

The fight over Mr. Paxton's impeachment, which drew in national Republican figures including former President Donald J. Trump, offered a stark demonstration of two increasingly warring currents in Republican politics.

Though the eruption was unexpected — as of a week ago there was little public indication that an impeachment could be imminent — it was the culmination of a session of the Texas Legislature, where Republicans dominate both chambers, that was defined by steadily increasing intraparty acrimony.

"It's the battle between the version of the Republican Party under Trump and the version of the traditional Republican Party," said Jeronimo Cortina, a professor of political science at the University of Houston. The fight is especially urgent in Texas, he added, because increasing urbanization and demographic changes threaten the party's dominance over Democrats.

"The question for Republicans is, do you want to stay in government for a couple of years" by catering to a shrinking pool of aging voters? Mr. Cortina said, describing the party's most conservative members. "Or do you want to invest in having a Republican Party that's going to have a future in Texas?"

At the impeachment proceeding, some of the most conservative members of the Legislature found themselves railing against the power politics of their own moderate leadership in the House.

"Don't end our session this way," Representative Tony Tinderholt said as he implored fellow Republicans to vote against impeaching Mr. Paxton, an archconservative who has made a national reputation fighting Democrats on immigration, health care, voting and other issues. "Don't tarnish this institution."

In the end, 60 out of the 85 Republicans in the Texas House disagreed and voted to impeach Mr. Paxton over accusations of corruption, bribery and abuse of office, temporarily removing him from office pending a coming trial in the State Senate.

By the close of the session, which officially ends on Monday, the conservative juggernaut that had swept in a wave of legislation during lawmakers' last session two years ago encountered significant pushback, not only from Democrats but also from fellow Texas Republicans willing to draw a line in the sand on some issues.

A special session to address some of the enduring divides — on education funding, property taxes, border security and renewable energy regulation, not to mention the fate of Mr. Paxton — appeared all but certain.

Anger among conservative activists and hard-right lawmakers had been building for months as they watched many of their priorities sail through the State Senate only to become stymied in the Texas House.

The two chambers have often been in conflict in recent legislative sessions, with the House acting as a more moderate check to the hard-right leadership of Lt. Gov. Dan Patrick, who presides over the Senate.

This year, though, the resentments appeared greater than usual.

Most of the eye-catching conservative proposals came out of the Senate, which rapidly passed a series of hard-line bills, including ending tenure in state universities, creating new restrictions on teaching about sex and gender similar to a highly contentious law in Florida, adding extensive new voting restrictions in Houston and putting the Ten Commandments in every public school classroom in Texas.

But tensions escalated as the weeks passed and deadlines approached. Many of the Senate priorities languished and then officially died in the House, to the consternation of some of its most conservative members.

A dispute over how best to cut property taxes for Texans — a seemingly easy lift in a tax-averse state that was sitting on a more than $30 billion budget surplus — led Mr. Patrick to begin calling Dade Phelan, the House speaker, who had a different plan, by one of the more insulting nicknames one can think of in Texas politics: "California Dade."

Mr. Patrick even enlisted Mr. Trump to weigh in. The former president adopted the nickname and endorsed Mr. Patrick's property tax plan.

That tactic did not result in a breakthrough in negotiations, though it did focus a spotlight on Mr. Phelan, a Republican from the city of Beaumont. The House and Senate agreed on Saturday to a spending plan that set aside more than $17 billion for a tax cut, but they still have been unable to come to terms on how it would actually work.

The California nickname was replaced last week in certain conservative activist circles by "Drunk Dade," after Mr. Paxton accused Mr. Phelan of being intoxicated during a recent late-night session of the House. Mr. Phelan denied the accusation, which was leveled just as it became clear the House had secretly been investigating Mr. Paxton.

Mr. Trump again condemned Mr. Phelan on Saturday before and after the impeachment vote, vowing to "fight" any Republicans who voted for impeachment.

The Republican Party of Texas, which has positioned itself to the right of many state elected officials, has been attacking Mr. Phelan since the start of the session, running radio ads against him in February because he continued a longstanding practice of allowing Democrats to chair some committees.

But the conservative discontent goes deeper.

"I think of it as part of an evolution rather than anything specifically focused on Phelan," said Cal Jillson, a political science professor at Southern Methodist University in Dallas. "There is growing aggravation among social conservatives that they don't have the kind of control in the Texas House as Patrick does in the Senate to move a social conservative agenda."

The divisions spilled into the open on Saturday in a display rarely seen in the current atmosphere of hyper-partisanship: a formal proceeding, governed by Republicans, holding to account a popular but scandal-plagued politician from their own ranks. Its speed was remarkable: Just days after the investigation into Mr. Paxton was first publicly discussed, he had been impeached.

"I've been watching this stuff for a long time," Mr. Jillson said, "and I have never really seen such a major development erupt so unexpectedly."

While lawmakers debated in Austin, Gov. Greg Abbott — who has not commented on the impeachment — toured the state trying to drum up Republican support for his top policy goal: a program to use public money to pay for private schools.

In pushing for what is variously known as school vouchers or school choice, Mr. Abbott visited Christian schools and churches around Texas and appeared with the influential Texas Public Policy Foundation, a conservative nonprofit backed by important Republican donors.

The governor, who has tried to thread the needle between the party's factions, had support from the State Senate, which passed a bill to enact school choice using so-called education savings accounts, or E.S.A.s. But the effort encountered resistance from many rural Republicans, particularly in the Texas House.

In a fit of pique this month, the governor threatened to use his power to force lawmakers to come back for another legislative session after this one ends.

Hours after the impeachment vote on Saturday, it became clear that he would have to if he wanted to save his school funding plan: In an 11th-hour attempt, Senate Republicans failed to force through a school voucher plan that tacked it onto a House bill increasing school funding and teacher pay.

"Teacher raises are being held hostage to support an E.S.A. plan!" Representative Ken King, a rural Republican from the Texas Panhandle and the bill's sponsor, said in a statement on Saturday. "What the governor and senate has done is inexcusable."

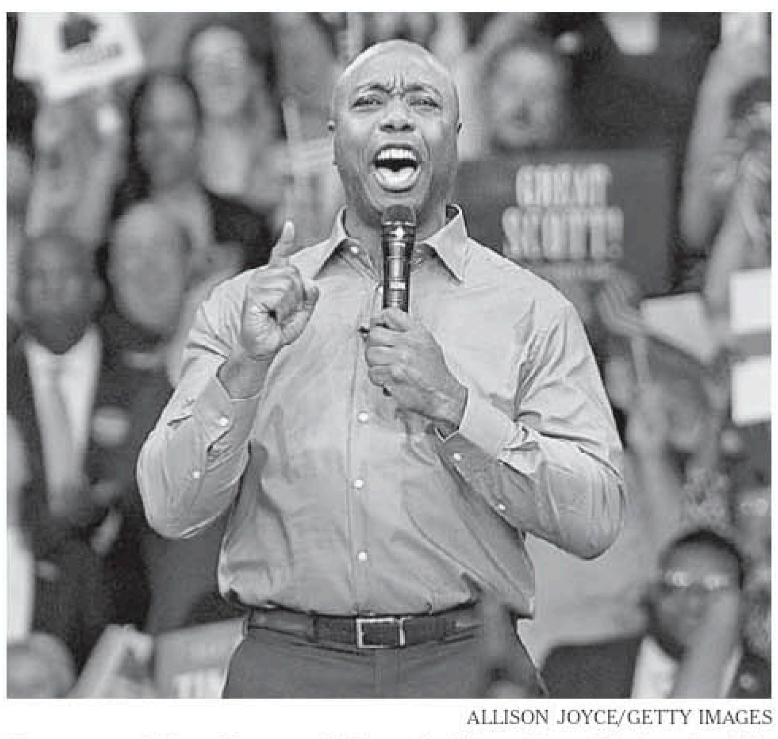
Despite the rifts, some of the pieces of contentious legislation made it through both chambers. A bill to ban hormone therapies, surgeries and other medical treatments for transgender children passed. So too did a measure — derided by Democrats as the "Death Star bill" — that would prevent local governments, including major cities run by Democrats, from making their own local ordinances on certain issues, such as worker protections. And legislators agreed on a bill to allow school districts to hire religious chaplains as counselors.

Even if Mr. Abbott does not call them back, lawmakers will be returning to the Capitol for a unique sort of special session and one that was likely to further test the bonds of Republicans: the trial in the Senate of Mr. Paxton.

The date has yet to be set for what will be the first impeachment trial of a statewide official in Texas in more than a century, one in which the dividing lines in the Republican Party are likely to be front and center. Representatives of the House present the case. Mr. Paxton will have a chance to defend himself. And the senators — including Mr. Paxton's wife, Angela, and his longtime friend, Bryan Hughes, unless they recuse themselves — will act as a jury.

Mr. Patrick, who will preside over the trial and set its rules, is a firebrand conservative and former talk radio host whose supporters and donors come from the same wing of the party as Mr. Paxton. But on the subject of the trial, Mr. Patrick has maintained a neutral posture so far. "The senators, all 31 senators, will have a vote," he said in an interview on the Y'all-itics podcast. "We will all be responsible as any juror would be."

Trump May Get the Crowd He Needs in the 2024 Race



ALLISON JOYCE/GETTY IMAGES

Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina kicked off his campaign last week. "I like him," former President Donald J. Trump reportedly said.

HAIYUN JIANG/THE NEW YORK TIMES

When Nikki Haley, a former governor, called to tell him about joining the race, Mr. Trump, unbothered, told her, "do what you've got to do."

For the former president, the more candidates the better.

This article is by ***Shane Goldmacher, Jonathan Swan*** *and* ***Maggie Haberman.***

Gov. Ron DeSantis of Florida officially entered the presidential race last week, but he appears farther than ever from the one-on-one matchup that his allies believe he needs to wrest the nomination from former President Donald J. Trump.

Former Vice President Mike Pence is burrowing deeper into Iowa, crucial to his effort to dislodge the Republican front-runners, even before he has announced his bid. Former Gov. Chris Christie of New Jersey is intensifying preparations for another campaign, with an expected focus on New Hampshire. And Republican donors and leadership on Capitol Hill are showing fresh interest in Senator Tim Scott of South Carolina, who kicked off his campaign last week. Even candidates who have barely been mentioned are suddenly expressing interest in 2024.

The rapidly ballooning field, combined with Mr. Trump's seemingly unbreakable core of support, represents a grave threat to Mr. DeSantis, imperiling his ability to consolidate the non-Trump vote, and could mirror the dynamics that powered Mr. Trump's takeover of the party in 2016.

It's a matter of math: Each new entrant threatens to steal a small piece of Mr. DeSantis's potential coalition — whether it be Mr. Pence with Iowa evangelicals or Mr. Scott with college-educated suburbanites. And these new candidates are unlikely to eat into Mr. Trump's votes. The former president's base — more than 30 percent of Republicans — remains strongly devoted to him.

"President Trump — he should go to the casino, he's a lucky guy," Dave Carney, a veteran Republican strategist based in New Hampshire, said of the former casino owner, Mr. Trump.

"It's a gigantic problem" for Mr. DeSantis, added Mr. Carney, who has worked on past presidential campaigns, because "whatever percentage they get makes it difficult for the second-place guy to win because there's just not the available vote."

Mr. Trump's advisers have almost gleefully greeted each successive entry as part of a divide-and-conquer strategy that his team has spoken about since 2021. And many of the candidates seem more comfortable throwing punches at Mr. DeSantis than at Mr. Trump.

The DeSantis campaign sees the landscape differently.

"We don't believe it's 2016 again," Ryan Tyson, a senior adviser to Mr. DeSantis, said in an interview.

And in a private briefing for donors this week, Mr. Tyson described a Republican electorate split into three parts: 35 percent as "only Trump" voters, 20 percent as "never Trump" and the remaining 45 percent as the DeSantis sweet spot.

Mr. Tyson told donors, in audio that was leaked and published online, that every entrant besides the two front-runners were isolated in the "never Trump" segment. "If your name is not Ron DeSantis or Donald Trump, you are splitting up this share of the electorate," he said.

In the months leading up to his campaign launch, Mr. DeSantis and his allies framed the 2024 primaries as a two-man race. But as he has stumbled in recent months, amid questions about his personality and political dexterity, rivals have become emboldened. And some have the cash to stay relevant deep into the primary calendar.

Mr. Scott entered the race with nearly $22 million on hand, and he raised $2 million more in his first day as a candidate. The wealthy, little-known governor of North Dakota, Doug Burgum, now sees a 2024 opening, filming ads recently to prepare for an imminent campaign, according to two people involved in the planning.

Vivek Ramaswamy, an entrepreneur, has invested $10 million of his own money in his campaign. Like Mr. DeSantis, Mr. Ramaswamy sells a similar anti-woke sentiment, but he does so with the charm of a natural communicator.

Mr. Trump has welcomed the non-DeSantis entrants to the race. In January, when Nikki Haley, who served as Mr. Trump's ambassador to the United Nations, called to tell him she planned to run, Mr. Trump did not rant about her disloyalty, as some had expected. He sounded unbothered, telling her to "do what you've got to do," according to two people briefed on their conversation.

And in the days leading up to Mr. Scott's announcement, Mr. Trump was watching Fox News in his Mar-a-Lago office when he said, "I like him. We're just going to say nice things about Tim," according to a person familiar with his private comments.

The conventional wisdom at the beginning of the year was that the field would be relatively small, perhaps as few as five people running. Republican anti-Trump donors were working to thin the herd to prevent a repeat of the divided field that guaranteed Mr. Trump's victory in 2016. Now, after Mr. DeSantis's early stumbles, there will likely be as many as 10 candidates competing for attention and vying for the debate stage.

For Mr. DeSantis, the squeeze was apparent on the day he entered the race.

In New Hampshire, Ms. Haley mocked him on Fox News as merely "copying Trump," down to his mannerisms. "If he's just going to be an echo of Trump, people will just vote for Trump," she said.

In Iowa, Mr. Pence sat down with the type of mainstream media outlets that Mr. DeSantis has shunned, including The Des Moines Register. Mr. Pence also met with Bob Vander Plaats, the same evangelical leader Mr. DeSantis had recently brought to Tallahassee for a private meal.

The split screen was a reminder that Mr. DeSantis is being pinched both ideologically and geographically, as the field expands.

Mr. Pence and Mr. Scott have made plain their plans to vie for influential evangelical voters in Iowa. In New Hampshire, both Mr. Christie, who focused his campaign on the state in 2016, and the state's sitting governor, Chris Sununu, a moderate who has left the door open to a run, threaten to siphon votes from Mr. DeSantis. And in South Carolina, he will be sandwiched between two home-state candidates, the former governor Ms. Haley and Mr. Scott.

Many Republicans who want to defeat Mr. Trump are aghast at the exploding field — along with Mr. DeSantis's underwhelming performance in recent months. Mr. DeSantis has slipped in the polls and now trails Mr. Trump in all states and by an average of more than 30 percentage points nationally.

"All Republicans have to be hitting Donald Trump," said Mr. Sununu, who said he was "50-50" about running. "Any Republican that isn't hitting Donald Trump hard right now is doing the entire party a disservice because if only one or two people are willing to take a shot at Donald Trump, it looks personal. It looks petty."

So far, Mr. Christie has gotten the most attention for his direct attacks on Mr. Trump, which he has signaled would be crucial to his candidacy. But he also has delighted in needling Mr. DeSantis, an acknowledgment of the Florida governor's position in the race.

The reluctance to go after Mr. Trump, for many Republicans, feels eerily like a repeat of 2016. Then, Mr. Trump's rivals left him mostly alone for months, assuming that he would implode or that they were destined to beat him the moment they could narrow the field to a one-on-one matchup, a situation that never transpired.

The two Florida-based candidates in that race, Senator Marco Rubio and Jeb Bush, a former governor, spent millions of dollars strafing each other. Senator Ted Cruz of Texas, who wound up as Mr. Trump's top rival, gloated privately to donors that he was bear-hugging Mr. Trump while also patiently waiting for the moment to pounce. It never came.

Mr. Trump's current rivals seem exasperated by their collective inability to crack his foundation: Mr. Trump's supporters have been trained for years to come to his defense whenever he is under fire.

Mr. Trump has another asymmetrical advantage: Current and potential rivals have sought to avoid criticizing him too harshly so as not to alienate Republicans who still like Mr. Trump and are automatically suspicious of anyone attacking him. By contrast, other 2024 contenders have shown no hesitation in going after Mr. DeSantis.

"His team — maybe him — is excellent at manufacturing the veneer of courage without actually delivering on the real thing," Mr. Ramaswamy said in an interview last month. "And that can work across TV and even social media," he added. "But once you poke a little bit, it's like a little bubble in the air: A little touch, and it's burst."

Mr. Ramaswamy, who has criticized Mr. Trump, has aimed most of his fire at Mr. DeSantis. A close friend of Mr. Trump's son-in-law, Jared Kushner, Mr. Ramaswamy dined with Mr. Trump and Mr. Kushner at the former president's New Jersey club, Bedminster, in 2021, according to two people familiar with the event.

And while the field grows, there is the matter of the debate stage, where Mr. Trump eviscerated his opponents in the 2016 primary.

The chair of the Republican National Committee, Ronna McDaniel, said earlier this year that she did not expect to need two debate stages as the party required in 2016, with the tiers of candidates determined by polling.

But there could be as many as a dozen declared candidates by August, and many are already racing to collect the 40,000 donors and 1 percent polling threshold the party has indicated will be needed to get onstage. This pool includes longer-shot candidates like Larry Elder, the talk radio host who lost in the California recall election.

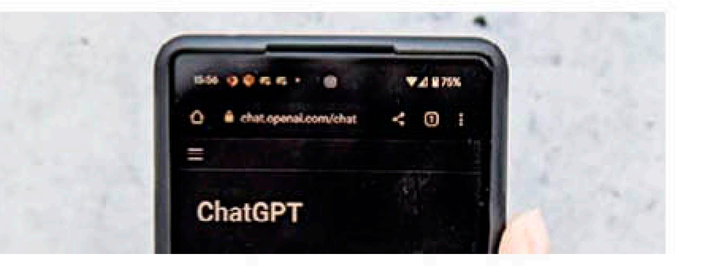
"Everyone says, 'We have to keep people from getting in.'" Mr. Sununu said. "That's the wrong message, the wrong mentality, and that's not going to work."

But he acknowledged that consolidation will eventually be needed to defeat Mr. Trump.

"The discipline," Mr. Sununu added, "is getting out."

3 TRAVEL

A flight attendant shares her 12 etiquette rules to ensure a pleasant flight. Among them: The middle seat gets both armrests, and it's polite to clean up after your kids.



4 ON TECH

Getting the most out of your A.I. chatbot takes the right questions. Our personal tech columnist shares the golden prompts that will help make the bot an expert.

Business

The New York Times

MONDAY, MAY 29, 2023 B1

N

Entrepreneur Is on Mission To Show A.I. Can Do Good

Artificial intelligence can be used to 'elevate humanity,' he says.

By ERIN GRIFFITH

SAN FRANCISCO — Reid Hoffman, billionaire entrepreneur and venture capital investor, is worried about artificial intelligence — but not for the doomsday reasons making headlines. Instead, he worries the doomsday headlines are too negative.

So in recent months, Mr. Hoffman has engaged in an aggressive thought-leadership regimen to extol the virtues of A.I. He has done so in blog posts, television interviews and fireside chats. He has spoken to government officials around the world. He hosts three podcasts and a YouTube channel. And in March, he published a book, "Impromptu," co-written with the A.I. tool GPT-4.

It's all part of the land grab for public opinion around A.I. in preparation for when the initial burst of fear and hype over the technology settles into a coherent debate. Sides will be chosen, regulation will be proposed, and tech tools will become politicized. For now, industry leaders like Mr. Hoffman are trying to nudge the terms of the discussion in their favor, even as public concerns only seem to grow.

"I'm beating the positive drum very loudly, and I'm doing so deliberately," he said.

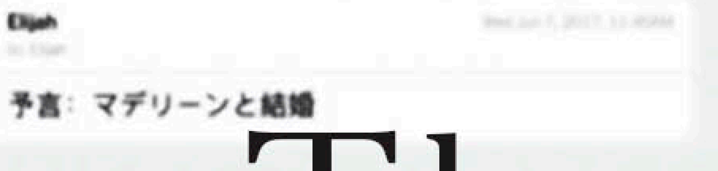
Few are as intertwined in so many facets of the fast-moving industry as Mr. Hoffman. The 55-year-old sits on the boards of 11 tech companies including Microsoft, which has gone all in on A.I., and eight nonprofits. His venture capital firm, Greylock Partners, has backed at least 37 A.I. companies. He was among the first investors in OpenAI, the most prominent A.I. start-up, and recently left its board. He also helped found Inflection AI, an A.I. chatbot start-up that has raised at least $225 million.

And then there is his more abstract goal of "elevating humanity," or helping people improve their circumstances, a concept he relays in an affable, matter-of-fact manner. Mr. Hoffman believes A.I. is critical to that mission and as examples points to its potential to transform areas like health care — "giving everyone a medical assistant"; and education — "giving everyone a tutor."

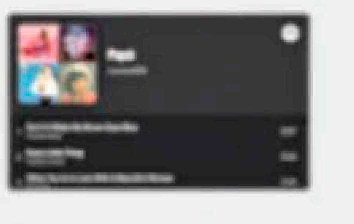
"That's part of the responsibility that we should be thinking about here," he said.

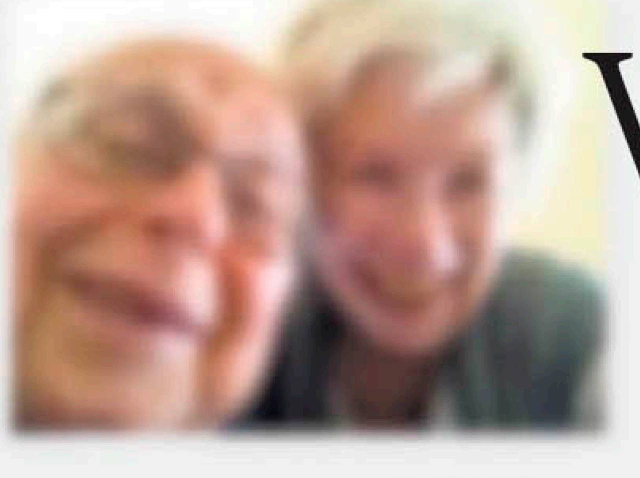
Mr. Hoffman is among a small group of interconnected tech executives leading the A.I. charge, many of whom also led the last internet boom. He is a member of the "PayPal Mafia" of former PayPal executives that includes Elon Musk and Peter Thiel. The latter

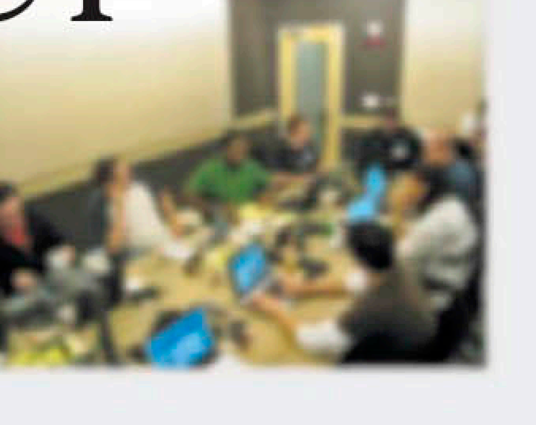
CONTINUED ON PAGE B4



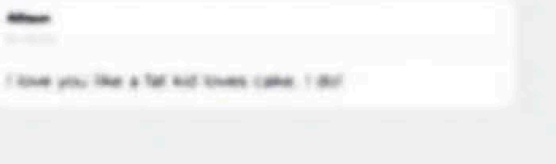
The Digital Fragments We Leave Behind After Death







The photos, texts, playlists and to-do lists that we find after loved ones pass away can offer poignant glimpses into their lives. Page B2.



Predawn Picketing by Writers Brings Some Hollywood Productions to a Halt

J. EMILIO FLORES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Peter Chiarelli, a screenwriter, has been waking up before dawn to picket outside Fox Studios in Los Angeles since the writers' strike started early this month. "We need to shut down the pipeline," he said of the shows in production.

By NICOLE SPERLING and JOHN KOBLIN

LOS ANGELES — At 5 a.m. on a recent weekday, a lone figure paced back and forth outside the main entrance to the Fox Studios lot in Los Angeles. Peter Chiarelli, a screenwriter, was walking the picket line.

He held a sign reading "Thank You 399," a message to the local branch of the Teamsters union, whose members he hoped would turn their trucks around instead of crossing his personal picket line to enter the lot, where Hulu was filming the series "Interior Chinatown."

"It's passive-aggressive," Mr. Chiarelli, who wrote the films "Crazy Rich Asians" and "The Proposal," said of his sentiment — sincere if the Teamsters turned back and sarcastic if they entered.

Since the Hollywood writers' strike began on May 2, Mr. Chiarelli and others like him have been waking before dawn to try to disrupt productions whose scripts had already been finished.

"We need to shut down the pipeline," he said of the shows in production.

The practice, which was not used to any real effect when the writers last went on strike in 2007, initially caught some studio executives off guard. And many of them — as well as plenty of people in the Writers Guild of America, the union that represents the writers — have been surprised that it has had some success.

Dispatching 'rapid response teams' to help disrupt filming.

Showtime paused production on the sixth season of "The Chi" after writers gathered for two straight days outside the gates of the Chicago studio where it was filming. Apple TV's "Loot" shut down after writers picketed a Los Angeles mansion where filming was taking place. The show's star, Maya Rudolph, retreated to her trailer and was unwilling to return to set.

Over 20 writers trekked from Los Angeles to Santa Clarita, Calif., to picket the FX drama "The Old Man," starring Jeff Bridges. The overnight action kept Teamsters trucks inside the Blue Cloud Movie Ranch, Mr. Chiarelli said, and crews had difficulty working. The show soon suspended production.

A Lionsgate comedy starring Keanu Reeves and Seth Rogen, with Aziz Ansari making his debut as a movie director, shut down after just two and a half days of filming in locations around Los Angeles after loud, shouting writers picketed all three of its sets.

"While we won't discuss the specifics of our strategy, we're applying pressure on the companies by disrupting production wherever it takes place," a Writers Guild of America spokesman said in a statement.

Eric Haywood, a veteran writer

CONTINUED ON PAGE B3

TECHNOLOGY

A Text Message. A Voicemail. A Few Pictures. All Bittersweet.

By HANNA INGBER and LEO DOMINGUEZ

A few months after my stepfather died, I stumbled upon the Photos app on his old iPad. Jeff was not much of a photographer, and his photos proved it. As I flipped through, I saw images that mostly seemed to have been taken inadvertently, like closeups of his feet. But Jeff was gone, and I wanted more, so I kept looking. Among accidental screengrabs, I found photos he took while lying down. Was Jeff — our curmudgeon who spent his free time reading Civil War tomes — taking selfies in the hospital? I kept going. I found image after image of my mother, standing in their kitchen or bedroom, posing in different outfits. She had presumably asked Jeff to photograph her so she could decide what to wear, and he obliged.

The more I looked, the more I found sweet moments of my mother. Images of her petting Jeff's cats, which she insisted she didn't care about. Others of his cats snuggled up against her. I found a series of my mother painting wildflowers at their favorite lake in Maine. Jeff had captured her from every angle.

Finding these photos, even the awkward feet ones, brought me comfort. The images were both predictable and surprising — reinforcing everything I knew about who my stepfather was, while also showing me more.

When older generations died, families would go through old photo albums and boxes of belongings. Now, when a loved one dies, we have so much more to pore over from their life — text messages, emails, to-do lists, playlists, voicemails. These digital artifacts contain life's spontaneity and chance. They show us details and small moments that we may have otherwise missed.

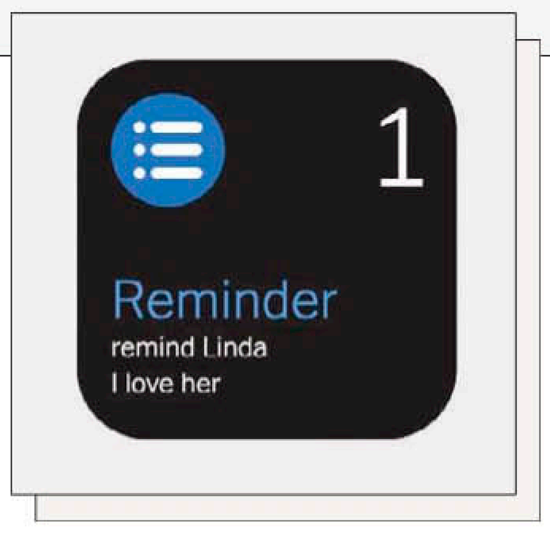
We asked our readers to tell us about the digital scraps they found after a loved one passed away. Here is a selection of their responses, which have been edited for clarity.

He was not a sentimental man. After her partner of 16 years died, in April 2013, Linda Lee in San Francisco found a reminder note he had written on an iPad app.

After Tom passed, I found an entry in the Reminder app on his iPad. It just floored me. I never thought he used it — he wasn't a techy kind of person. I doubled over in tears upon finding it.

He was not a sentimental man. He gave me cards that said "XOXO," and things like that. But he never really said, "I love you," verbally.

This was the nicest gift ever from him; a forever gift to be cherished the rest of my life.



Decoding a piece of the past. Madeline de Figueiredo in Houston lost her husband, Eli Aperin, in November 2021. He was 25.

I found an email in my spouse Eli's inbox that was dated from the night of our first kiss in 2017. He had sent himself a message in Japanese that night with the note: "Prediction: Marry Madeline . . . "

We had been good friends for years, but I was a bit overwhelmed when our relationship took a turn for the romantic. Three years later, we married.

Eighteen months after that, Eli died suddenly in an accident.

Finding this email in his inbox was like decoding a piece of the past and discovering a new moment in our love story: Eli knew it was me from the beginning. What a gift to receive from him in the early weeks of grief.

I really believed before this happened that once someone dies, that is the end of your relationship. After finding this, I felt like I was getting to know him better, even after he was gone.

I had never thought about capturing his voice. Sharon Koppel in Mifflinburg, Pa., lost her husband, Jeff, in 2020. He was 73.

I had no recordings of Jeff's voice after he died. Then I stumbled upon a video of him riding his bike to our local Y.M.C.A. and sharing why exercise and his friends there were important to him, in his deep, gentle, kind voice. I smiled at the T-shirt he had on: a cartoon of a dog with drinking glasses and the words, "I make pour decisions."

We were together for almost 30 years. I had two prior marriages that were not the best, so meeting Jeff was like meeting my soulmate. Every day was fun.

He had contracted Cushing's disease eight years before, and it had a debilitating effect on his body and muscles and all kinds of stuff. He decided he would sign up for the local Y.M.C.A., and he became a regular, riding his bike five days a week to his class.

They made the video as part of a fundraising campaign many years ago, and I hadn't thought about it in so long. He was in remission and doing so well, and then, suddenly, he wasn't. After seven weeks in hospice care, he died.

He died at home, and it was just so busy. About a month after he died, someone asked me if I had saved any of his voicemails, and I had been so preoccupied that I didn't even think about it. I got all the photos, but I had never thought about capturing his voice.

I ran into the head of the Y.M.C.A. down at the grocery store, and I asked her if, by any chance, they had any video of Jeff talking. She said, "Sure, we have that video from the campaign," and I just burst into tears.

Our secret language. Allison Reeves in Baton Rouge lost her younger brother, Jimmy, when he was 25. He died after a bike accident in Taiwan more than a decade ago.

I found the last email that I wrote to my brother before his accident. I was bored on a Friday afternoon at work and had written to him: "I love you like a fat kid loves cake. I do!" which was like our secret language for expressing our love for one another.

After he died, my parents gave me his computer, where I stumbled upon an app to see his email. I did not remember sending the message until the moment I saw it in his email inbox. I was surprised how glad I was to have sent the email, to have seen that he read it, to know that I said everything I needed to say before his accident.

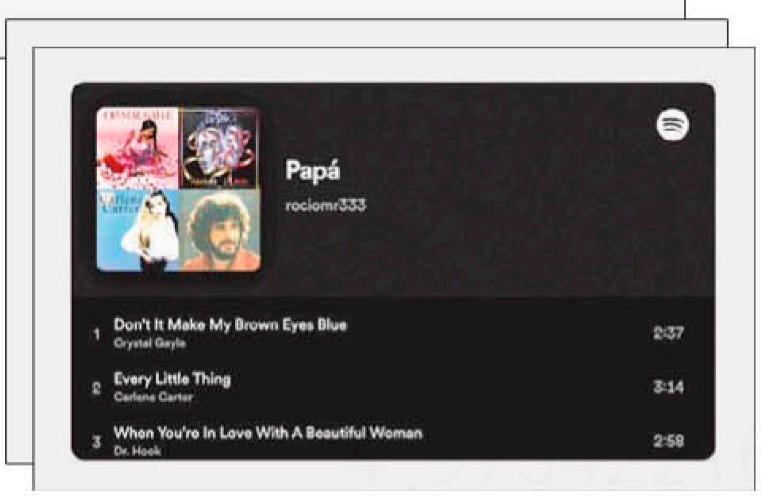
Discovering another side to Dad. Carolina Ramirez in Denver lost her father in December. After he died, she found a playlist he had created.

Losing our dad was one of the hardest things we had gone through. We lost him pretty suddenly. He was diagnosed with esophageal cancer last May, and we lost him in December. We assumed we'd have more time.

In our attempt to find mementos of him after he passed, my sister remembered his Spotify account and quickly played his 2022 Spotify wrapped playlist. It felt like we were able to glimpse a hidden side of our dad on his long rides in traffic, as he traveled from house to house for his work as a painter. To our surprise, our Mexican-born immigrant dad loved old-school country music, and his most played artist was Dolly Parton.

My mom, sister and I sobbed and laughed as we huddled around his phone, playing a glimpse of his final year with us. We curated a playlist for his graveside burial service and then listened to a time capsule of his favorite songs as they lowered his casket. We can now keep this playlist with us and remember the incredibly quirky, goofy and proud man that was our father.

Te quiero mucho, Papá.

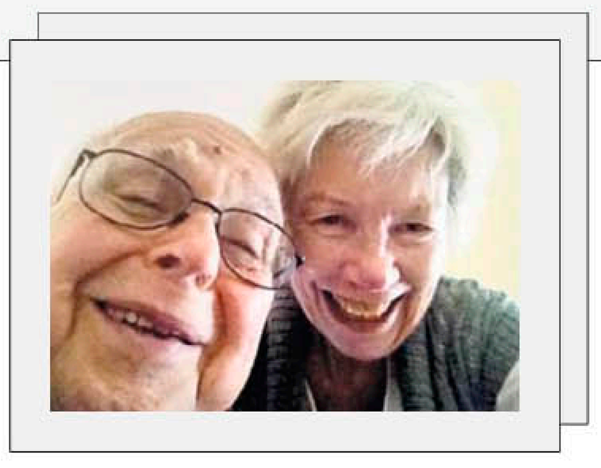


Were there other moments like that? Mike Johnson in Cave Creek, Ariz., lost his mother in August 2020. After she died, his brother found this image on their father's computer.

Our mother was a loving control freak who did not have much of a sense of humor. So it's hard to imagine what would have caused her to lose it in this picture.

I had known her for 60 years, and I had known her to not laugh very much. She was very task-oriented, just not a free spirit. And then to see this picture of both she and my dad just losing it — it was, like, wow, what was it that prompted that reaction? I hadn't seen her laugh like that for anything. I had seen her chuckle, but I never saw her lose control laughing so hard.

It sticks with you. You go, wow, were there other moments like that that we just didn't know about?



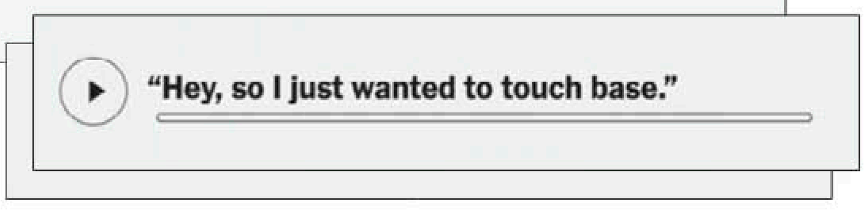
Before the trouble started. Priscilla Dickerman in Downingtown, Pa., lost her brother, Malcolm, a year ago. He was 62.

My brother died this past spring. He overdosed after years of homelessness, which was due to a mix of head trauma, family trauma, mental illness and addiction.

My brother had a hard life; some of his troubles were from crappy life circumstances, and many were from his own questionable choices. But he was a very caring and sweet soul, and I loved him.

A few months later, I found a voicemail on my phone from him, left at a time when I had blocked him because he was quite toxic and out of control. The message was so sweet, so loving, so thoughtful.

His message is both comforting and painful for me to hear. It was from the tender soul that my brother held way deep inside himself, the part that few besides me would recognize, from long ago when we were kids, before the trouble started. And it has helped carry me through the pain of his loss.

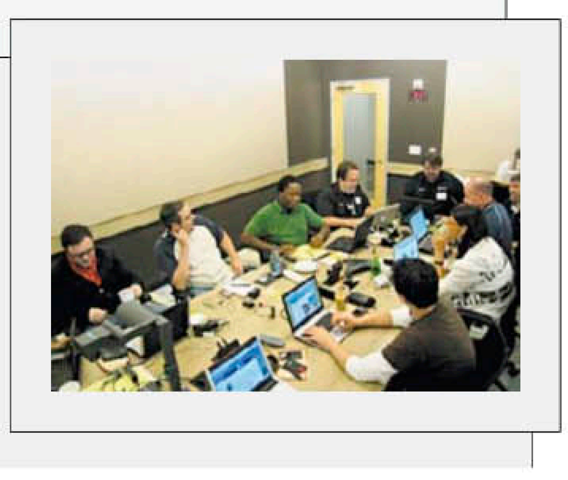


A sight I had seen every evening. Sarah Chute in Toronto stumbled upon a photo of her father on an old web forum.

Among his many creative accomplishments, my late father, Harvey Chute, ran two forums in the late aughts: one, for users of Microsoft Zune, called Zunerama, and another, for Kindle users, called Kboards. He had so many hobbies he pursued on his own like this, including authoring a young adult historical novel and playing guitar. But he would still involve us in small related projects, such as filming unboxing videos of us as children opening up Zune accessories. Before he passed away, in 2015, he taught my mom, sisters and me the inner workings of running a forum. This gave us a newfound appreciation for all his years of hard work that we had witnessed and dismissed as "just Papa's hobby."

Earlier this year, I Googled his name, hoping to find an audio clip or interview with him that I hadn't discovered before. I added "zune" to make my search query more specific and came across a stranger's post on another site documenting a day at Zune HQ for Microsoft Valued Professionals, a title he was awarded in recognition of the success of Zunerama. I scrolled down and was touched to see a photo of a group of geeks working in a small boardroom. On the right end of the table, the comforting, familiar sight of my dad's bald head and gaze focused on his laptop brought me a flood of emotion. It was a sight I had seen every evening in our family room when he would tinker away on the back end of forums he developed during the off-hours of his day job.

Somehow, knowing that he joined a group of strangers to gather for a day — and that they witnessed his mannerisms, his nerdy hobby, his gentle curiosity, his mild pleasantries, and, undoubtedly, one of his clever jokes — made me aware of the scope of lives that he touched, and it was a comforting reminder that his memory lives on in quaint and unexpected ways.



Predawn Picketing by Writers Is Bringing Some Productions to a Halt

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

who is on the union's negotiating committee, put it more plainly. "If your movie or TV show is still shooting and we haven't shut it down yet, sit tight," he wrote on social media. "We'll get around to you."

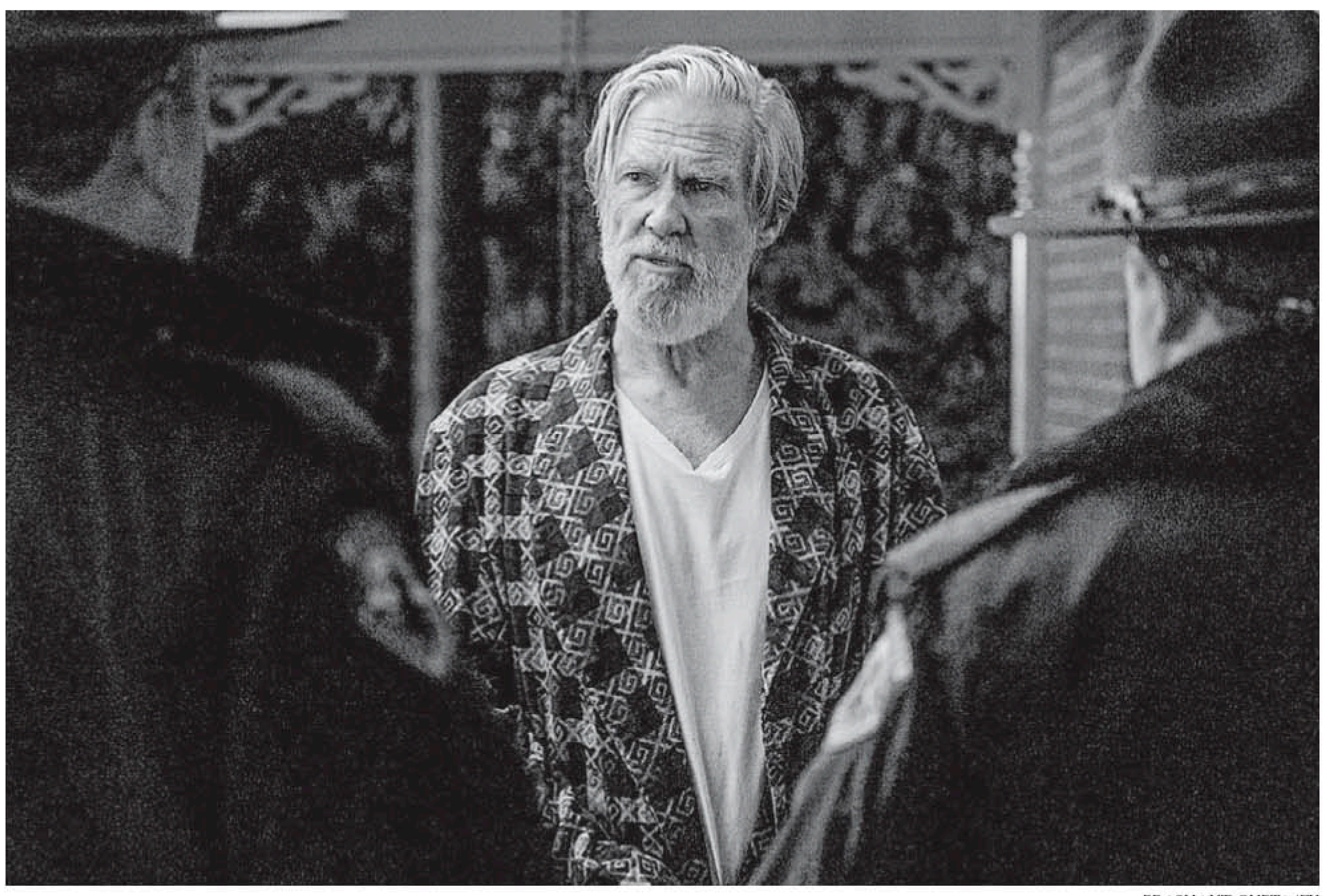
A representative for the Alliance of Motion Picture and Television Producers, which bargains on behalf of the studios, declined to comment.

Both sides have privately said a much greater sense of solidarity among unions than during the last writers' strike has made it harder for workers from other unions to cross picket lines. Productions are also more geographically widespread than they were 15 years ago. In addition to fortified Los Angeles soundstages, writers have picketed locations in the New Jersey suburbs, New York's Westchester County and Chicago. And social media has provided a way to alert writers to quickly get to specific picket lines.

'If your movie or TV show is still shooting and we haven't shut it down yet, sit tight. We'll get around to you.'

Eric Haywood, a veteran writer who is on the Writers Guild negotiating committee, wrote on social media.

J. EMILIO FLORES FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES



PRASHANT GUPTA/FX

The screenwriter Peter Chiarelli taking a picture of a truck entering the Fox Studios lot in Los Angeles. It's a tactic he's been using to hopefully get the drivers to turn around. "The Old Man," starring Jeff Bridges, left, is one of several productions that stopped filming because of picketing by writers.

Each day, the writers send out calls for "rapid response teams" when they learn about a production's call time and location.

"Breaking: they're shooting on Sunday . . . we're picketing on Sunday," a writer posted on Twitter, asking people to get together immediately in the Greenpoint neighborhood of Brooklyn to disrupt a production. "Please amplify."

"I think everybody is getting behind us because they see that if we all stick together, we can make some real achievements," said Mike Royce ("One Day at a Time"), who has joined Mr. Chiarelli in his some of his predawn pickets.

The writers have disrupted other events as well. Netflix canceled a major in-person presentation for advertisers in New York amid concerns about demonstrations. The streaming company also canceled an appearance by Ted Sarandos, one of its co-chief executives, who was to be honored at the prestigious PEN America Literary Gala. A Boston University commencement address by David Zaslav, the chief executive of Warner Bros. Discovery, was interrupted by boos and chants of "Pay your writers!" from demonstrators and students.

While the makeshift picket lines have disrupted individual productions, it's not clear that they've had much effect on the strike itself. Negotiations haven't resumed since they broke down on May 1, and the industry is bracing for the possibility that the strike could last for months.

The writers contend that their wages have stagnated even though the major Hollywood studios have invested billions of dollars in recent years to build out their streaming services. The guild has described the dispute in stark terms, saying the "survival of writing as a profession is at stake."

But production shutdowns are affecting not only the studios. Crews and other workers — like drivers, set designers, caterers — lose paychecks. And if the shutdowns accumulate and more people are unable to work, some wonder whether the writers will begin to erode the current good will from other workers.

Lindsay Dougherty is the lead organizer of Local 399, the Teamsters' Los Angeles division, which represents more than 6,000 movie workers, from the truck drivers the writers are trying to turn away to casting directors, location managers and animal trainers. A second-generation Teamster, Ms. Dougherty is one of the union's few female leaders. Her copious tattoos, including one of the former Teamster leader Jimmy Hoffa, and her frequently profane speech have made her a bit of a celebrity to the writers during the strike.

And she said the solidarity with the writers remained strong.

"I think collectively, we're all on the same page in that streaming has dramatically changed the industry," Ms. Dougherty said in an interview. "And these tech companies that we're bargaining with, during the last writers' strike — Amazon, Apple, Netflix — they weren't even part of the conversation."

Asked if the Teamsters were tipping off the writers about the timing and location of productions, she demurred.

"The Writers Guild is getting tips from all sorts of different places — whether it's members that are working on the crew, or from film permits, they obviously have social media groups and emails set up to send tips and information," she said.

In the meantime, Mr. Chiarelli keeps pacing outside Fox Studios each day, hoping he can turn some trucks around. Some days he gets results. On a recent morning he was joined by several other writers, and five trucks turned away, he said. During an overnight picket at Fox, a trailer carrying fake police cars destined for the shoot turned tail at 2 a.m.

Other days, the picket line is much more sparse, especially if a tip takes a group to a different location.

He and Mr. Royce talked fondly about their second day out in the darkness. It was pouring rain when two large trucks pulled into the turn lane, blinkers on, ready to enter the lot. Then they saw the writers. The trucks pulled to the side of the road, waited about 10 minutes, then turned around.

They "blew past the entrance, honked their horns and waved at us," Mr. Royce said. "It was thrilling."

Added Mr. Chiarelli, "I've been chasing that high ever since."

Nicole Sperling reported from Los Angeles, and John Koblin from New York.

Flight Attendant Shares Her 12 Etiquette Rules For Summer Traveling

HANNAH AGOSTA

By KRISTIE KOERBEL

After 21 years as a flight attendant, I've seen it all. The pandemic heightened tensions on board, with the most extreme incidents of bad passenger behavior escalating to violence. More commonly, though, I see discourteous behavior lead to verbal disagreements, or a general unpleasantness.

As we enter the busy summer season, it's worth discussing some of the common courtesies that could make flying, dare I say, pleasant.

Here are my airline etiquette rules, which aim to strike a balance between your own reasonable comforts and thoughtfulness to those around you.

Everyone has the right to recline — but there's a polite way to do it.

The wrong way is slamming back the seat as hard and fast as you can. That has broken laptops, spilled drinks and caused fistfights that have caused flights to be diverted. Be aware of your surroundings. Before reclining, peek behind you and see what the situation is, and nicely ask if that person minds.

Clean up after your kids.

We are not maids. Flight attendants do not have access to vacuums, brooms or cleaning supplies that go beyond hand soap, wet wipes and air freshener. You are not required to clean up, but it's courteous. There are knock-on effects, too: Messes in the aisle can be a safety hazard, and a big cleaning job can even delay the next flight. Proactive thinking helps. Can a small child handle a large bag of snacks? If not, put them in a smaller, more manageable container ahead of time.

The overhead bins aren't your personal Tetris game.

The bins are first-come, first-serve in economy class. You don't own the spot directly above your seat, and it's not acceptable to take out someone else's bag to make yours fit. Sliding bags to maximize space is fine, but save the complex puzzle solving for the flight attendant. And remember, small bags belong at your feet, keeping room for large bags in the overhead bins.

No one wants to hear your FaceTime conversation.

We don't need to hear both sides of that conversation; plus, boarding an airplane is not the time for your goodbyes. It's time for you to concentrate on finding your seat and stowing your bags as fast as possible so the people behind you can do the same thing. While we are on the topic, no one wants to hear your movies, video games or TikToks, so bring headphones. Even for children.

The middle seat gets both armrests.

It's the consolation prize for being squished between two people with nowhere to lean. Case closed.

Headphones are a perfectly acceptable conversation ender.

Overly chatty seatmate? Headphones are a great way to keep from being the sounding board for your neighbor who can't take a hint. It's my go-to move: After a long day of being a flight attendant, my noise-canceling headphones are my haven. I want peace on my commute home.

Keep your socks on.

If it's a long flight, by all means relax and take off your shoes, but there is never a reason to take off your socks. Foot smell is inescapable. Also, keep your feet to yourself. It is not acceptable to rest your feet on the armrest of the person in front. And I highly recommend putting your footwear back on to use the lavatory.

Use the call button wisely.

If you need something — a coffee refill, assistance with a medical issue or help with a disruptive passenger — please use it. It is preferable to poking or tapping the flight attendant, which is not OK. Before you press it, though, make sure we aren't already in the aisle with a beverage cart or a trash bag — that means we're already coming! If you are having a true emergency, please hit it several times so we know it's important.

Don't discipline other people's kids.

Nothing makes a flight more miserable than the back of your seat becoming a punching bag. However, if a child behind you is being disruptive, address the parents. You don't have the right to yell at someone else's child. A nice way to approach this is to ask the parents calmly, and with a smile, if they realize their child is kicking your seat. Then say it's bothersome; is there any way you can you make the child stop? This way you are not accusing in your tone, and are asking instead of being bossy.

Deal with your seating issues before you get on the plane.

If your family is split up on the flight, the chaotic rush of boarding is not when flight attendants can solve it for you. The gate agents have access to the seating chart and family reservations, so please ask them first if it is possible to change your seats. Some airlines even have a policy that families with children under 13 must sit together, so the gate agent is the best place. Or even better: Call the airline before coming to the airport.

You don't have to switch seats if someone asks you.

I'm going to be unpopular here. No, you do not have to switch with someone who asks you. If you have paid extra for your seat, or even if it is just an inconvenience, you can kindly say no. If it is advantageous, like trading a middle seat for a window seat, or you are happy to help, please go ahead and swap.

Don't forget to flush. Please.

This should be common sense, but somehow it isn't. I deal with this all day, every day. I do not want to flush your deposit, and neither does the passenger after you. If you can't find the button, please look for it: I guarantee it's there. On every airplane.

TECHNOLOGY

Silicon Valley Investor Praises Virtues of A.I.

FROM FIRST BUSINESS PAGE

two backed DeepMind, an A.I. start-up that Google bought, and all three were early backers of OpenAI. Jessica Livingston, a founder of the start-up incubator Y Combinator, also put money into OpenAI; Sam Altman, OpenAI's chief executive, was previously president of Y Combinator.

Mr. Musk has now started his own A.I. company, X.AI. Mr. Thiel's venture firm, Founders Fund, has backed more than 70 A.I. companies, including OpenAI, according to PitchBook, which tracks start-up investments. Mr. Altman has invested in several A.I. start-ups on top of running OpenAI, which itself has invested in seven A.I. start-ups through its start-up fund. And Y Combinator's latest batch of start-ups included

'The solutions live in the future, not by enshrining the past.'

Reid Hoffman, billionaire entrepreneur and investor.

78 focused on A.I., nearly double its last group.

The tech leaders differ on A.I.'s risks and opportunities and have been loudly promoting their takes in the marketplace of ideas.

Mr. Musk recently warned of A.I.'s dangers on Bill Maher's show and in a sit-down with Senator Chuck Schumer, Democrat of New York. Mr. Hoffman has explained the technology's potential to Vice President Kamala Harris, Commerce Secretary Gina Raimondo and Transportation Secretary Pete Buttigieg. Earlier this month, Mr. Altman said in a congressional hearing that "the benefits of the tools we have deployed so far vastly outweigh the risks."

In Mr. Hoffman's view, warnings about A.I.'s existential risk to humanity overstate what the technology can do. And he believes that other potential issues caused by A.I. — job loss, destruction of democracy, disruption of the economy — have an obvious fix: more technology.

"The solutions live in the future, not by enshrining the past," he said.

That's a tough pitch to a public that has seen tech's harmful effects over the last decade, includ-

'I don't think we can trust that the industry will regulate itself.'

Oded Netzer, a professor at Columbia Business School.

ing social media misinformation and autonomous vehicle crashes. And this time, the risks are even larger, said Oded Netzer, a professor at Columbia Business School.

"It's not just the risks, it's how fast they are moving," Mr. Netzer said of tech companies' handling of A.I. "I don't think we can hope or trust that the industry will regulate itself."

Mr. Hoffman's pro-A.I. campaign, he said, is meant to foster trust where it's broken. "It's not to say that there won't be some harms in some areas," he said. "The question is could we learn and iterate to a much better state?"

Mr. Hoffman has been thinking about that question since he studied symbolic systems at Stanford University in the late 1980s. There, he imagined how A.I. would facilitate "our Promethean moment," he said in a YouTube video from March. "We can make these new things and we can journey with them."

After working at PayPal and cofounding LinkedIn, the professional social network, in 2002, Mr. Hoffman began investing in start-ups including Nauto, Nuro and Aurora Innovation, all focused on applying A.I. tech to transportation. He also joined an A.I. ethics committee at DeepMind.

Mustafa Suleyman, DeepMind's co-founder, said Mr. Hoffman differed from other venture capitalists in that his primary motivation was doing good in the world.

"How can we be in service of humanity? He asked that question all the time," Mr. Suleyman said.

When Mr. Suleyman began working on his latest start-up, Inflection AI, he found Mr. Hoffman's strategic advice to be so useful that he asked him to help found the company. Greylock invested in the start-up last year.

Mr. Hoffman was also there in OpenAI's early days. At an Italian restaurant in San Jose, Calif., in 2015, he met with Mr. Musk and Mr. Altman to discuss the beginnings of the company, which has a mission of ensuring that the most powerful A.I. "benefits all of humanity."

Several years later, when OpenAI was thinking about corporate partnerships, Mr. Hoffman said he encouraged Mr. Altman to meet with Microsoft, which had bought LinkedIn in 2016.

Mr. Altman said he was initially anxious that Microsoft, a behemoth with a duty to prioritize its shareholders, might not take seriously OpenAI's mission and unusual structure of capping its profits. In any large, complicated deal, Mr. Altman said, "everyone's anxious about, 'How is this really going to work?'"

Mr. Hoffman helped smooth things out. He talked Mr. Altman through various concerns while wearing metaphorical "hats" as an OpenAI board member, a Microsoft board member, and as himself.

"You have to be really clear about which hat you're talking with," Mr. Hoffman said.

Mr. Altman said Mr. Hoffman helped OpenAI "model Microsoft and think about what they'd care about, what they'd be good at, what they'd be bad at, and similar to them for us."

In 2019, OpenAI and Microsoft struck a $1 billion agreement, which has propelled them into a leading position today. (To avoid a conflict of interest, Mr. Hoffman was not part of the negotiations and abstained from voting to approve the deal on each board.)

A little over a year ago, as Mr. Hoffman saw the progress OpenAI was making on its GPT-3 language model, he had another Promethean moment. He immediately flipped an A.I. switch on nearly everything he worked on, including Greylock's new investments and existing start-ups as well as his podcast, book and discussions with government officials.

"It was basically like, 'If it's not this, it better be something that's absolutely critical for society,'" he said.

OpenAI released a chatbot, ChatGPT, in November, which became a sensation. One Greylock investment, Tome, integrated OpenAI's GPT-3 technology into its "storytelling" software immediately after. The number of Tome users skyrocketed to six million from a few thousand teams, said Keith Peiris, Tome's chief executive.

Mr. Hoffman said his approach was shaped, in part, by his access to "extremely high-quality information flows," Some is through his business relationships with Microsoft, OpenAI and others. Some is through various philanthropies, like Stanford's A.I. center.

And some is through his political connections. He has poured millions of dollars into Democratic campaigns and political action committees. Barack Obama is a friend, he said.

For now, he's using his influence to paint a picture of A.I.-driven progress. Tech insiders cheer on his cheerleading. The rest of the world is more skeptical. A recent survey conducted by Reuters and Ipsos showed that 61 percent of Americans believe A.I. could be a threat to humanity.

Mr. Hoffman brushes off those fears as overblown. He expects that the more tangible problems facing A.I., including its tendency to spit out incorrect information, will be worked out as tech companies upgrade their systems and deploy them to help.

Looking ahead, he said, there will be more investments, more podcasts, more conversations with government officials and more work on Inflection AI. The way to navigate A.I.'s risks, he stressed, is by steering the world toward the positives.

"I'm a tech optimist, not a tech utopian," he said.

Cade Metz contributed reporting.

CLARA MOKRI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

PAUL SAKUMA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

CLARA MOKRI FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Reid Hoffman, top, is a member of the so-called "PayPal Mafia" of former PayPal executives, which includes Peter Thiel and Elon Musk, both shown above in a photo from 2000. Mustafa Suleyman, left, the co-founder and C.E.O. of Inflection AI, says Mr. Hoffman is motivated to do good in the world, unlike some other venture capitalists.

Some Magic Words to Get The Best From a Chatbot

Brian X. Chen
ON TECH

Welcome back to On Tech: A.I., a pop-up newsletter that teaches you about artificial intelligence, how it works and how to use it.

A few months ago, my colleagues Cade Metz and Kevin Roose explained the inner workings of A.I., including chatbots like OpenAI's ChatGPT, Microsoft's Bing and Google's Bard. Now we're back with a new mission: to help you learn to use A.I. to its full potential.

People from all walks of life — students, coders, artists and accountants — are experimenting with how to use A.I. tools. Employers are posting jobs seeking people who are adept at using them. Pretty soon, if not already, you'll have the chance to use A.I. to streamline and improve your work and personal life.

As The Times's personal tech columnist, I'm here to help you figure out how to use these tools safely and responsibly to improve many parts of your life.

I'm going to spend today's newsletter talking about two general approaches that will be useful in a number of situations.

Then, in the coming weeks, I'll give you more specific tips for different aspects of your life, including parenting and family life, work, organizing in your personal life, learning/education, creativity and shopping.

A few common-sense warnings to start:

- If you're concerned about privacy, leave out personal details like your name and where you work. The tech companies say your data is used to train their systems, which means other people could conceivably see your information.
- Don't share confidential data. Your employer may have specific guidelines or restrictions, but in general, entering trade secrets or sensitive information is a very bad idea.
- Hallucinations: Chatbots are powered by a technology called a large language model, or L.L.M., which gets its abilities by analyzing enormous amounts of digital text culled from the internet. Plenty of stuff on the web is wrong, and chatbots may repeat those untruths. Sometimes, while trying to predict patterns from their vast training data, they can make things up.

The Golden Prompts

ChatGPT, Bing and Bard are among the most popular A.I. chatbots. (To use ChatGPT, you'll need to create an OpenAI account, and it requires a subscription for its most advanced version. Bing requires you to use Microsoft's Edge web browser. Bard requires a Google account.)

Though they look simple to use — you type something in a box and get answers! — asking questions in the wrong way will produce generic, unhelpful and, sometimes, downright incorrect answers.

It turns out there's an art to typing in the precise words and framing to generate the most helpful answers. I call these the golden prompts.

The people who are getting the most out of the chatbots have been using variants of these strategies:

"Act as if." Beginning your prompt with these magic words will instruct the bot to emulate an expert. For example, typing "Act as if you are a tutor for the SATs" or "Act as if you are a personal trainer" will guide the bots to model themselves around people in those professions.

These prompts provide additional context for the A.I. to generate its response. The A.I. doesn't actually understand what it means to be a tutor or a personal trainer. Instead, the prompt is helping the A.I. to draw on specific statistical patterns in its training data.

A weak prompt with no guidance will generate less helpful results. If all you type is "What should I eat this week?" the chatbot will come up with a generic list of meals for a balanced diet, such as turkey stir fry with a side of colorful veggies for dinner (which, to me, sounds very "meh").

"Tell me what else you need to do this." To get results that are more personalized — for example, health advice for your specific body type or medical conditions — invite the bot to request more information.

In the personal trainer example, a prompt could be: "Act as if you are my personal trainer. Create a weekly workout regimen and meal plan for me. Tell me what else you need to do this." The bot might then ask you for your age, height, weight, dietary restrictions and health goals to tailor a weeklong meal plan and fitness routine for you.

If you don't get good answers on your first try, don't give up right away. Better yet, in the words of Ethan Mollick, a professor at the Wharton School of the University of Pennsylvania, treat the bot as if it were a human intern: "When it makes a mistake, point that out and ask for it to do better." Be forgiving and patient, and you're likely to get better results.

Thread Your Exchanges

After you get the hang of prompts, you can make your chatbot more helpful over time. The key here is to avoid treating your chatbot as a web search and starting with a fresh query each time. Instead, keep several threads of conversations open and add to them over time.

This strategy is easiest with ChatGPT. Bing requires you to reset your conversations periodically, and Bard does not make it as easy to hop between conversation threads.

Natalie Choprasert, an entrepreneur in Sydney, Australia, who advises companies on how to use A.I., uses ChatGPT as a business coach and an executive assistant. She keeps separate conversations running side by side for each of these roles.

For the business coach thread, she shares insights about her professional background and the company's goals and problems. For the executive assistant thread, she shares scheduling information, like the clients she's meeting with.

"It builds up and trains properly, so when I ask it a question later on, it will be in the right context and it will give me answers close to what I'm looking for," Choprasert said.

She shared a bonus golden prompt that has trained her assistants to be extra helpful: Apply a framework. She recently read "Clockwork," a book about setting up a business. When she asked ChatGPT-the-business-coach to offer advice using the framework of "Clockwork," she was delighted to see that it could incorporate principles from the book into an action plan for expanding her company.

Share Your Prompts

What are your golden prompts that have gotten you the most impressive, helpful results from A.I.? Email us your examples at ontech@nytimes.com. We may use your submissions in future editions of this newsletter.

JACKIE MOLLOY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Avoid starting a fresh query every time. The strategy of keeping several threads of conversations open and adding to them is easiest with ChatGPT.

The New York Times
Cooking

Make prep time
the new playtime.

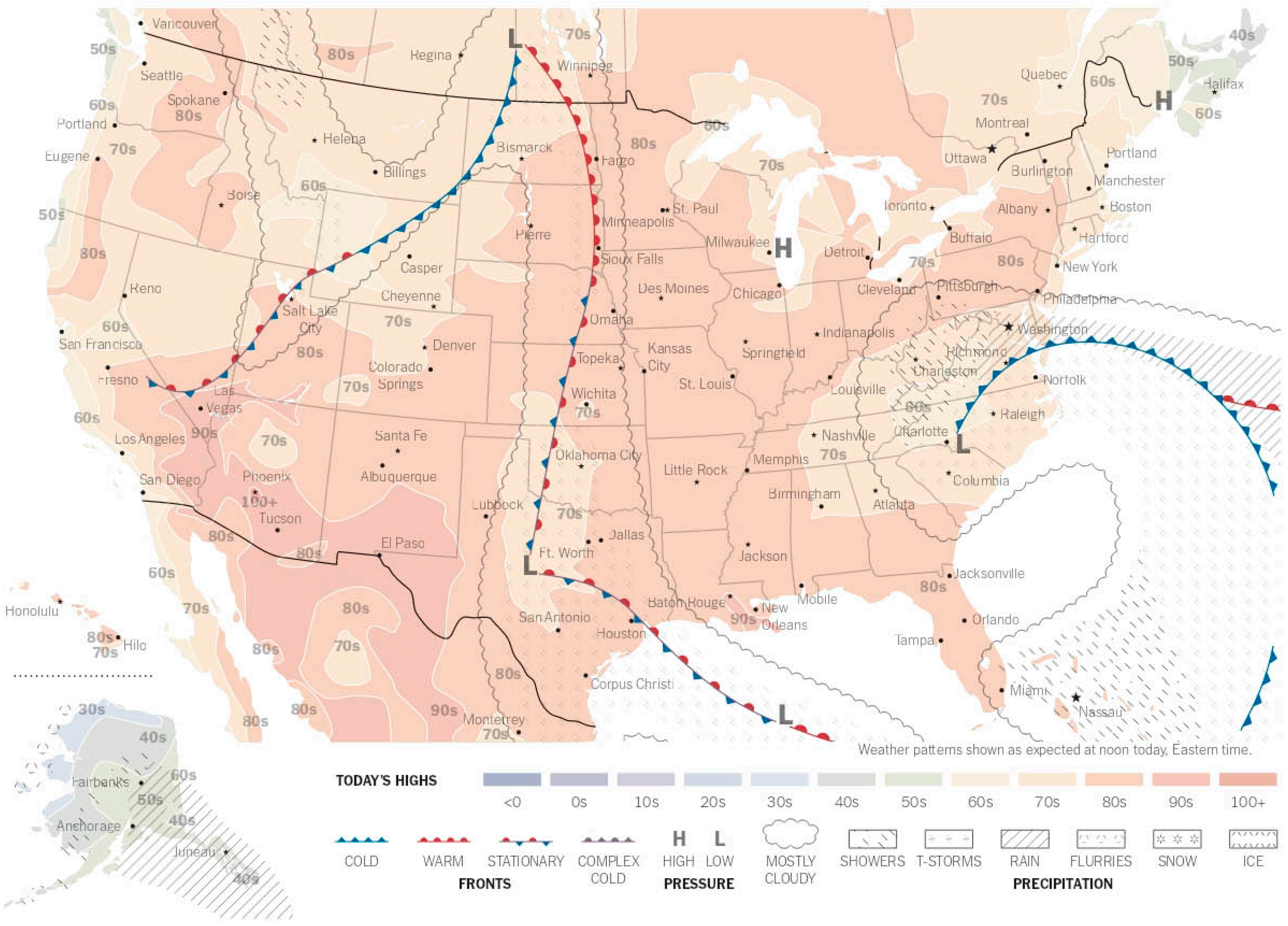
Sugar Cookie Bars Avocado Fries Yogurt Cake Zucchini Pancakes Guacamole con Frutas Macaroni and Cheese Banana Everything Cookies Miso Meatballs

Explore curated collections like
Recipes to Cook With Your Kids.

nytcooking.com

Weather Report

Meteorology by **AccuWeather**



Metropolitan Forecast

TODAY ....Breezy late in the day

High 78. There will be a partly sunny sky. The high temperature will be a few degrees above average. The wind will be 6-12 miles per hour.

TONIGHT ....Patchy clouds

Low 56. Expect patchy clouds to remain into the evening. The low will be a couple of degrees below average. The wind will be 6-12 m.p.h.

TOMORROW ....Mostly sunny

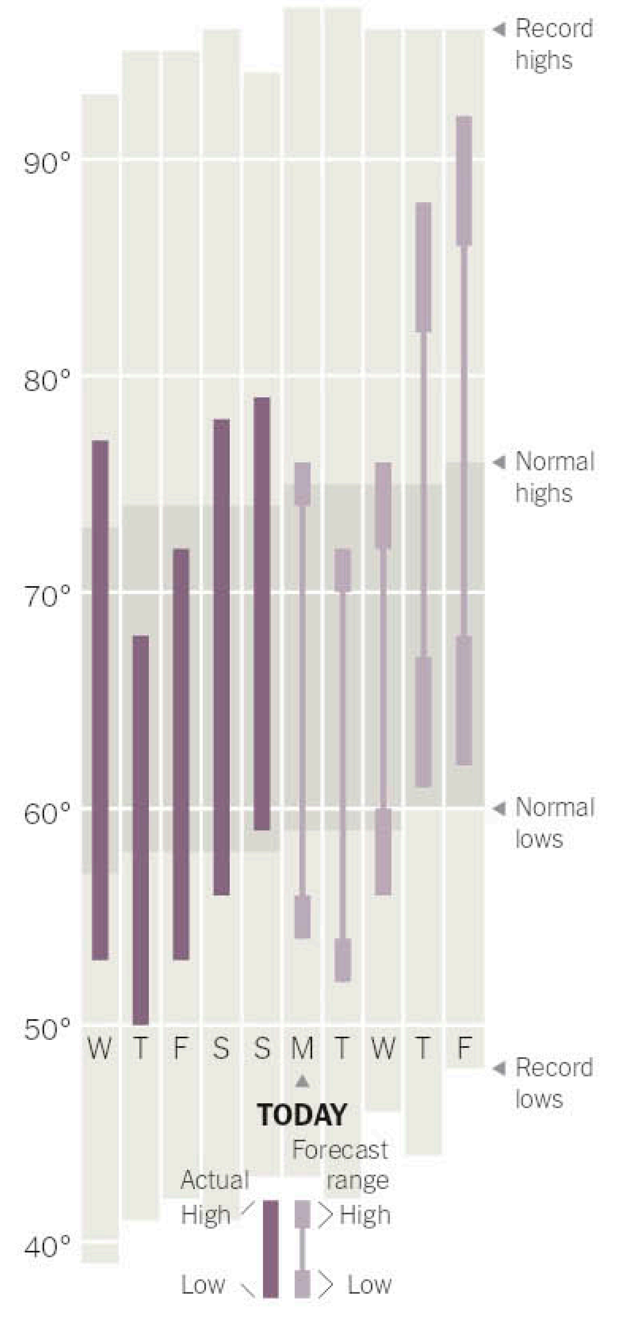
High 71. The sky will be mostly sunny. The high temperature will be a couple of degrees below average. The wind will be 6-12 m.p.h.

WEDNESDAY ....Mostly sunny

There will be periodic sunshine along with patchy high clouds. The wind will be 6-12 m.p.h. High 76.

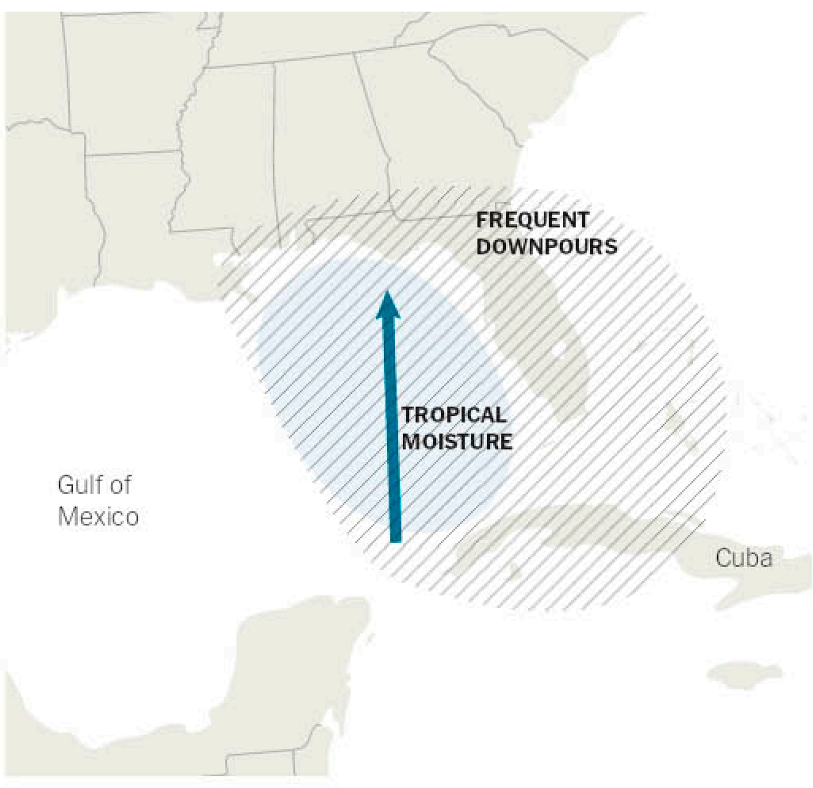
THURSDAY
FRIDAY ....Mostly sunny

For Thursday, expect dry conditions with a sunny sky and rising daytime high temperatures. High 85. For Friday, dry conditions with a partly sunny sky. High 89.



Highlight: Florida Turns Wet Later This Week

Tropical moisture is expected to spread north into Florida during the second half of this week. This will lead to a significant increase in showers and thunderstorms throughout the state from Wednesday to Friday. Several inches of rainfall is anticipated in many areas by the end of the week, which may lead to localized flash flooding. Expect rough surf along the beaches.



National Forecast

A zone of severe thunderstorms is expected for parts of the northern Plains today, and it will expand into parts of south-central Canada. Storms may bring hail and damaging wind gusts for eastern parts of the Dakotas. Spotty thunderstorms could also develop in eastern portions of the Plains and into much of southern and eastern Texas.

Afternoon thunderstorms are expected in parts of the Intermountain West, even stretching into the high terrain of Northern California and along the Sierra Nevada.

A slow-moving storm system will bring showers and steadier rain to much of the Middle Atlantic. Most other areas will be dry, but dangerous rip currents will be possible at some northeast beaches from New Jersey to Cape Cod.

Metropolitan Almanac

In Central Park, for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday.

Temperature

Avg. daily departure from normal this month.............. -0.4°

Avg. daily departure from normal this year .... +4.1°

Reservoir levels (New York City water supply)

Yesterday 97%
Est. normal 100%

Precipitation (in inches)

Yesterday 0.00
Record 1.22

For the last 30 days
Actual 6.06
Normal 3.82

For the last 365 days
Actual 45.30
Normal 49.52

LAST 30 DAYS

Air pressure

High .... 30.27 1 a.m.
Low .... 30.08 4 p.m.

Humidity

High .... 40% 7 a.m.
Low .... 23% 2 p.m.

Cooling Degree Days

An index of fuel consumption that tracks how far the day's mean temperature rose above 65

Yesterday.. 4
So far this month.............................. 41
So far this season (since January 1) 82
Normal to date for the season 69

Trends

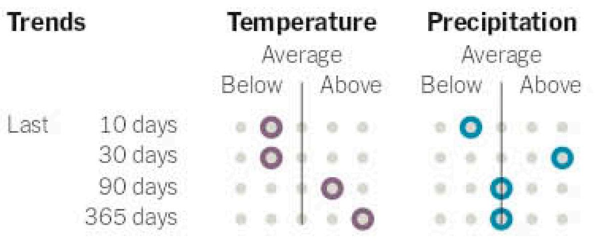


Chart shows how recent temperature and precipitation trends compare with those of the last 30 years.

Cities

High/low temperatures for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday, Eastern time, and precipitation (in inches) for the 16 hours ended at 4 p.m. yesterday. Expected conditions for today and tomorrow.

C	Clouds	**S**	Sun
F	Fog	**Sn**	Snow
H	Haze	**SS**	Snow showers
I	Ice	**T**	Thunderstorms
PC	Partly cloudy	**Tr**	Trace
R	Rain	**W**	Windy
Sh	Showers	**–**	Not available

N.Y.C. region	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
New York City	79/ 59 0	78/ 56 PC	71/ 56 S
Bridgeport	75/ 54 0	73/ 51 W	66/ 50 S
Caldwell	83/ 48 0	80/ 50 PC	73/ 49 S
Danbury	83/ 47 0	80/ 44 S	73/ 44 S
Islip	74/ 53 0	75/ 52 PC	66/ 51 S
Newark	80/ 55 0	80/ 57 PC	72/ 54 S
Trenton	78/ 48 0	79/ 53 PC	71/ 51 PC
White Plains	79/ 50 0	76/ 48 PC	68/ 47 S

United States	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Albany	90/ 57 0	83/ 52 S	82/ 50 S
Albuquerque	84/ 57 0	87/ 60 S	87/ 60 C
Anchorage	54/ 43 0.02	56/ 45 C	54/ 41 C
Atlanta	79/ 59 0	78/ 63 PC	83/ 64 S
Atlantic City	67/ 58 Tr	68/ 56 R	64/ 59 W
Austin	86/ 66 0	82/ 65 T	86/ 64 T
Baltimore	75/ 60 0.01	75/ 58 R	73/ 59 C
Baton Rouge	89/ 67 0	90/ 68 PC	90/ 69 C
Birmingham	81/ 55 0	79/ 62 PC	84/ 65 PC
Boise	79/ 57 0	84/ 62 PC	82/ 57 T
Boston	86/ 61 0	67/ 50 S	64/ 50 S
Buffalo	81/ 53 0	83/ 58 S	83/ 60 S
Burlington	90/ 56 0	79/ 53 PC	82/ 60 PC
Casper	74/ 45 0.04	74/ 42 PC	78/ 42 T
Charlotte	59/ 56 0.36	70/ 59 T	78/ 60 C
Chattanooga	74/ 59 0	78/ 61 PC	84/ 66 S
Chicago	79/ 56 0	81/ 60 PC	88/ 67 PC
Cincinnati	69/ 58 0.04	81/ 62 PC	84/ 64 S
Cleveland	77/ 58 0	80/ 61 S	83/ 63 S
Colorado Springs	78/ 51 0	81/ 50 PC	80/ 51 C
Columbus	78/ 59 Tr	83/ 62 PC	84/ 60 S
Concord, N.H.	91/ 55 0	75/ 39 S	76/ 43 S
Dallas-Ft. Worth	87/ 69 0.04	81/ 67 T	87/ 67 T
Denver	78/ 52 0.04	82/ 53 PC	83/ 53 C
Des Moines	84/ 59 0	86/ 63 C	86/ 65 S
Detroit	82/ 55 0	86/ 59 PC	86/ 63 S
El Paso	93/ 67 0	96/ 71 S	98/ 72 S
Fargo	89/ 65 0	85/ 64 T	85/ 62 T
Hartford	89/ 56 0	79/ 44 S	76/ 47 S
Honolulu	83/ 72 0.14	84/ 73 PC	84/ 74 C
Houston	89/ 69 0	85/ 70 T	85/ 67 T
Indianapolis	80/ 61 0	83/ 62 PC	86/ 65 S
Jackson	85/ 61 0	85/ 62 PC	86/ 64 PC
Jacksonville	80/ 59 0	87/ 64 C	88/ 68 PC
Kansas City	84/ 62 0	84/ 64 PC	83/ 67 T
Key West	87/ 77 0	87/ 78 PC	87/ 78 PC
Las Vegas	96/ 71 0	94/ 70 S	91/ 69 PC
Lexington	64/ 53 0.31	79/ 60 S	82/ 63 PC
Little Rock	87/ 62 0	87/ 66 PC	89/ 71 PC
Los Angeles	70/ 58 0	69/ 56 PC	67/ 55 PC
Louisville	70/ 59 0.13	83/ 64 S	87/ 68 S
Memphis	84/ 60 0	84/ 66 PC	89/ 68 PC
Miami	90/ 73 0.10	89/ 75 T	90/ 75 PC
Milwaukee	72/ 53 0	75/ 56 PC	82/ 61 PC
Mpls.-St. Paul	82/ 61 0	87/ 65 PC	86/ 67 T
Nashville	76/ 56 0	79/ 62 S	84/ 65 S
New Orleans	89/ 70 0.02	89/ 72 C	88/ 72 C
Norfolk	66/ 64 0.25	74/ 62 R	69/ 63 Sh
Oklahoma City	80/ 62 0.04	77/ 62 T	84/ 64 T
Omaha	87/ 62 0	85/ 65 C	87/ 66 T
Orlando	86/ 67 0	87/ 69 PC	89/ 72 PC
Philadelphia	78/ 58 0	80/ 59 C	74/ 56 PC
Phoenix	99/ 73 0	100/ 71 S	99/ 69 PC
Pittsburgh	79/ 56 0	83/ 59 S	80/ 59 S
Portland, Me.	85/ 58 0	67/ 43 S	67/ 50 S
Portland, Ore.	75/ 53 0	76/ 51 S	73/ 49 PC
Providence	80/ 54 0	71/ 44 S	69/ 49 S
Raleigh	67/ 62 0.31	72/ 60 T	76/ 61 Sh
Reno	71/ 52 0.10	76/ 53 T	73/ 54 PC
Richmond	66/ 61 0.20	76/ 62 R	71/ 59 R
Rochester	80/ 51 0	78/ 55 S	84/ 56 S
Sacramento	70/ 52 0	76/ 52 S	76/ 54 S
Salt Lake City	77/ 59 0	85/ 61 PC	86/ 63 PC
San Antonio	86/ 68 0	81/ 65 T	85/ 66 T
San Diego	66/ 60 0	68/ 59 PC	68/ 60 PC
San Francisco	62/ 54 Tr	69/ 55 PC	68/ 55 PC
San Jose	67/ 52 0	71/ 53 PC	71/ 54 PC
San Juan	90/ 76 0.05	88/ 76 Sh	90/ 75 Sh
Seattle	71/ 51 0	72/ 48 PC	65/ 47 PC
Sioux Falls	85/ 63 0	84/ 65 T	85/ 65 T
Spokane	78/ 56 0	79/ 53 S	78/ 51 PC
St. Louis	83/ 61 0	86/ 66 PC	89/ 69 PC
St. Thomas	86/ 77 0	87/ 77 PC	88/ 79 Sh
Syracuse	83/ 54 0	86/ 58 S	83/ 57 S
Tampa	85/ 69 0	87/ 71 PC	92/ 73 PC
Toledo	81/ 55 0	85/ 58 PC	88/ 62 S
Tucson	97/ 65 0	97/ 66 S	94/ 63 S
Tulsa	85/ 64 0	80/ 64 T	85/ 66 T
Virginia Beach	68/ 64 0.29	74/ 63 R	70/ 62 Sh
Washington	73/ 61 0.02	73/ 61 R	71/ 60 Sh
Wichita	79/ 62 0.04	78/ 62 T	84/ 65 T
Wilmington, Del.	79/ 56 0	81/ 57 R	74/ 57 C

Africa	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Algiers	72/ 60 0.30	75/ 60 T	73/ 61 T
Cairo	90/ 75 0	89/ 70 S	92/ 72 S
Cape Town	65/ 39 0	67/ 53 R	64/ 49 S
Dakar	84/ 75 0	87/ 77 W	86/ 75 PC
Johannesburg	72/ 49 0	71/ 47 C	67/ 49 C
Nairobi	79/ 58 0	72/ 59 Sh	75/ 58 Sh
Tunis	86/ 60 0	73/ 62 T	75/ 62 T

Asia/Pacific	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Baghdad	103/ 77 0	100/ 79 PC	101/ 81 PC
Bangkok	97/ 80 0.56	93/ 79 T	92/ 80 T
Beijing	85/ 61 0	88/ 69 PC	81/ 62 Sh
Damascus	84/ 65 0	88/ 57 T	87/ 55 S
Hong Kong	91/ 81 0	93/ 83 S	98/ 85 T
Jakarta	91/ 77 0.05	91/ 77 T	90/ 78 T
Jerusalem	77/ 65 0.04	77/ 59 S	79/ 59 S
Karachi	93/ 84 0	95/ 83 S	95/ 83 PC
Manila	91/ 81 0.09	91/ 82 C	89/ 82 T
Mumbai	91/ 81 0	95/ 84 S	94/ 84 S
New Delhi	95/ 75 0.11	88/ 71 T	93/ 74 T
Riyadh	100/ 81 0	105/ 86 PC	101/ 82 PC
Seoul	73/ 64 1.00	81/ 64 R	86/ 64 C
Shanghai	89/ 72 0	93/ 72 PC	80/ 69 C
Singapore	90/ 79 0.12	92/ 81 Sh	90/ 81 T
Sydney	66/ 43 0	69/ 49 W	70/ 52 PC
Taipei City	95/ 73 0	92/ 76 PC	90/ 76 Sh
Tehran	93/ 71 0	94/ 78 PC	98/ 78 PC
Tokyo	76/ 66 0.12	72/ 65 Sh	73/ 63 R

Europe	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Amsterdam	68/ 51 0	61/ 47 PC	60/ 50 PC
Athens	79/ 65 0.10	77/ 60 PC	76/ 64 PC
Berlin	75/ 46 0	71/ 46 PC	72/ 48 PC
Brussels	73/ 49 0	66/ 44 PC	65/ 50 PC
Budapest	78/ 53 0	79/ 56 T	76/ 57 T
Copenhagen	68/ 47 0	64/ 48 PC	68/ 52 S
Dublin	59/ 49 0	61/ 46 PC	65/ 47 S
Edinburgh	59/ 41 0	65/ 45 PC	66/ 47 S
Frankfurt	79/ 51 0	76/ 51 PC	72/ 53 PC
Geneva	75/ 55 0.11	77/ 55 T	76/ 54 PC
Helsinki	63/ 40 0	61/ 39 PC	61/ 42 PC
Istanbul	70/ 62 0.20	72/ 62 Sh	72/ 62 Sh
Kyiv	69/ 54 0	73/ 52 S	76/ 56 PC
Lisbon	73/ 57 0	72/ 56 PC	74/ 56 PC
London	72/ 48 0	65/ 47 PC	68/ 50 PC
Madrid	68/ 57 0.25	73/ 57 T	74/ 54 T
Moscow	61/ 45 0.27	72/ 48 S	74/ 51 C
Nice	75/ 66 0.10	75/ 66 PC	78/ 66 PC
Oslo	66/ 47 0	66/ 47 PC	74/ 49 S
Paris	79/ 56 0	76/ 52 S	74/ 54 PC
Prague	74/ 44 0	73/ 51 PC	70/ 46 PC
Rome	79/ 59 0	77/ 59 T	77/ 61 T
St. Petersburg	66/ 39 0	61/ 41 PC	60/ 43 PC
Stockholm	67/ 50 0	62/ 43 PC	66/ 50 S
Vienna	73/ 48 0	76/ 54 T	74/ 54 PC
Warsaw	66/ 45 0	73/ 53 PC	73/ 49 PC

North America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Acapulco	90/ 76 0.04	89/ 76 S	90/ 76 T
Bermuda	79/ 72 0.11	77/ 70 Sh	77/ 72 T
Edmonton	79/ 49 0.04	74/ 48 Sh	73/ 49 PC
Guadalajara	91/ 62 0.09	90/ 56 S	92/ 57 S
Havana	90/ 67 0.06	88/ 70 T	89/ 71 T
Kingston	90/ 81 0.09	90/ 81 T	90/ 81 T
Martinique	88/ 77 0.03	89/ 76 PC	89/ 77 Sh
Mexico City	77/ 57 0.03	77/ 54 Sh	83/ 57 S
Monterrey	84/ 69 0.12	87/ 65 T	89/ 69 S
Montreal	86/ 56 0	74/ 53 PC	82/ 61 PC
Nassau	87/ 75 0.31	86/ 76 PC	85/ 75 Sh
Panama City	91/ 75 0.04	87/ 76 T	86/ 76 T
Quebec City	83/ 54 0	69/ 46 S	80/ 55 PC
Santo Domingo	90/ 73 0	89/ 74 T	90/ 75 Sh
Toronto	81/ 53 0	77/ 55 S	79/ 60 S
Vancouver	64/ 52 0	67/ 51 S	64/ 49 S
Winnipeg	89/ 64 0	80/ 62 T	77/ 58 T

South America	Yesterday	Today	Tomorrow
Buenos Aires	55/ 45 0	58/ 52 C	61/ 54 PC
Caracas	88/ 74 0.26	89/ 74 PC	90/ 75 T
Lima	75/ 69 0	76/ 69 PC	76/ 67 PC
Quito	65/ 45 0.03	65/ 47 R	66/ 46 Sh
Recife	84/ 76 0.10	84/ 78 R	85/ 76 PC
Rio de Janeiro	81/ 69 0	75/ 68 Sh	77/ 69 Sh
Santiago	63/ 41 0	71/ 45 PC	71/ 44 PC

Recreational Forecast

Sun, Moon and Planets

Full	Last Quarter	New	First Quarter
June 3 11:42 p.m.	June 10	June 18 12:37 a.m.	June 26

Sun	**RISE**	5:28 a.m.	**Moon**	**S**	2:35 a.m.
	SET	8:19 p.m.		**R**	2:34 p.m.
	NEXT R	5:28 a.m.		**S**	2:55 a.m.
Jupiter	**R**	3:49 a.m.	**Mars**	**R**	9:41 a.m.
	S	5:16 p.m.		**S**	12:18 a.m.
Saturn	**R**	1:39 a.m.	**Venus**	**R**	8:36 a.m.
	S	12:33 p.m.		**S**	11:45 p.m.

Boating

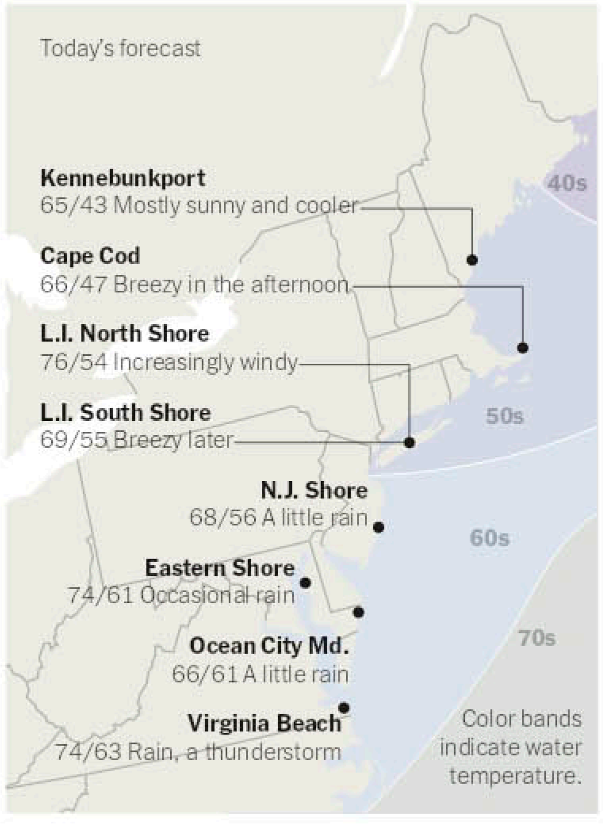
From Montauk Point to Sandy Hook, N.J., out to 20 nautical miles, including Long Island Sound and New York Harbor.

Winds will be out of the south at 5-10 knots. Waves will be 1-2 feet on New York Harbor and Long Island Sound and 2-4 feet on the ocean. Visibility will generally be unrestricted to the horizon.

High Tides

Atlantic City	3:18 a.m.	4:09 p.m.
Barnegat Inlet	3:22 a.m.	4:20 p.m.
The Battery	4:00 a.m.	4:57 p.m.
Beach Haven	4:47 a.m.	5:39 p.m.
Bridgeport	7:22 a.m.	7:48 p.m.
City Island	7:32 a.m.	8:04 p.m.
Fire Island Lt.	4:15 a.m.	5:07 p.m.
Montauk Point	5:27 a.m.	5:53 p.m.
Northport	7:35 a.m.	8:02 p.m.
Port Washington	7:36 a.m.	8:05 p.m.
Sandy Hook	3:29 a.m.	4:21 p.m.
Shinnecock Inlet	3:35 a.m.	4:11 p.m.
Stamford	7:19 a.m.	7:45 p.m.
Tarrytown	5:49 a.m.	6:46 p.m.
Willets Point	7:36 a.m.	8:06 p.m.

Beach and Ocean Temperatures



Along the shoreline of northern New England, the sky will be mostly sunny, though surf water temperatures will remain low. Across Rhode Island, Connecticut and New York, the sky will start sunny but become partly cloudy. South of New York, rain and thunder are likely, especially in and around coastal Virginia.

A gift for someone who likes things **SWEET** or anyone who aims for **EASY**. A gift for a bestie who went from cooking **FOR ONE** to cooking **FOR TWO**. A gift for a co-worker who considers **PASTA** a food group. A gift for the family who all agree to eat **DESSERT** first. A gift for the loved one who is **VEGAN** curious.

The New York Times **Cooking**

The gift for every taste.

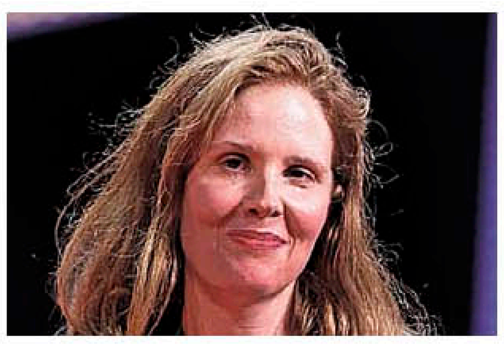
Recipes and inspiration to suit every style. Give a New York Times Cooking gift subscription for $40. **nytcooking.com/gift**

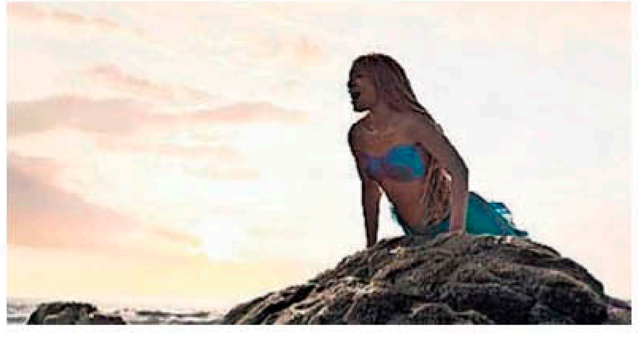
2 MUSIC

Henry Threadgill has been busy. BY SETH COLTER WALLS

3 FILM

Justine Triet takes this year's Palme d'Or. BY MANOHLA DARGIS





4 FILM

How the new Ariel compares to her predecessor.

BY SARAH BAHR

MICHAEL SCHMELLING FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

For Her Book, a High Score

Gabrielle Zevin didn't expect a wide audience for her novel about video game developers. It soon became a blockbuster with staying power.

By ALEXANDRA ALTER

Five and a half years ago, Gabrielle Zevin was in a slump. She had recently published her ninth novel, and sales were sluggish.

She needed a distraction, so she turned, as she often does, to video games. But when she tried to play the adventure game Gold Rush, she discovered that the version she had played obsessively as a kid no longer existed. It felt like a chapter of her childhood had been erased. "This part of my life was gone," she said.

The feeling of loss yielded a kernel of an idea, which Zevin jotted in a notebook: "Story of two game designers. The games they make are their lives."

Those two sentences eventually grew into her latest novel, "Tomorrow, and Tomorrow, and Tomorrow," which follows two video game developers who endure creative highs and lows that parallel Zevin's own meandering path as a novelist.

Zevin had initially figured that there wouldn't be much of an audience for a literary novel set in the world of game development. So she was elated last summer when the novel became a word-of-mouth phenomenon, fueled by passionate independent booksellers, book clubs and zealous fans posting on social media.

Gabrielle Zevin's novel "Tomorrow, and Tomorrow, and Tomorrow" follows two video game designers whose creative highs and lows parallel Zevin's as a novelist.

Even more surprising than the novel's breakout success is its staying power. "Tomorrow, and Tomorrow, and Tomorrow," which came out in July, has remained on the New York Times best-seller list for 33 weeks and sold more than a million copies globally. So far this year, it has sold some 575,000 copies in the United States, outpacing last year's sales of 300,000. It has racked up around 175,000 five-star ratings on Goodreads and roughly 28,000 on Amazon. It is currently the No. 3 best-selling adult hardcover fiction title of 2023, according to Circana BookScan.

CONTINUED ON PAGE C2

GIA KOURLAS | CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

New York City Ballet, Breezy Yet Strong

The dance company's spring season highlights included the return of Sara Means and a flurry of debuts.

IF NEW YORK CITY BALLET'S spring season could be bottled into a fragrance, it would be fresh and green, with the earthy, sweet scent of a breeze after a bout of rain. How did we get here? The company, seemingly all of a sudden, looks so strong and, more important, so light. The high fives passed from one dancer to the next as they crossed the stage in Alexei Ratmansky's "Namouna" seemed more funny, more victorious and more true than ever.

As a new generation of dancers at City Ballet finds its way, there's not only more individualism, but more cohesion among individuals. Debuts came so regularly, it was dizzying. And along with risk, there was air and expansiveness, which gave the repertory an on-the-spot kind of inventiveness.

Older ballets had a new sheen. "Concerto Barocco" (1941) and "La Source" (1968) are brilliant dances. Even bad performances can't ruin their splendor, but this season they came to life with dancers seemingly conscious of their responsibility. City Ballet

CONTINUED ON PAGE C6

JUTHARAT PINYODOONYACHET FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Let Me Guess: Taylor Swift Fans?

Swifties pulled out all the stops for the star's shows in New Jersey over the weekend. Page 5.

SETH COLTER WALLS | CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

A Composer Who Is Always Ready to Soar

With a new album and memoir out, Henry Threadgill shares some (but not all) of his secrets.

EVEN AS A CHILD, Henry Threadgill liked to experiment.

In this Pulitzer Prize-winning composer and saxophonist's new memoir, "Easily Slip Into Another World," he recounts a youthful attempt to fly from a window using a "contraption" of his own devising.

He managed to escape the ensuing, predictable crash without breaking any bones, but the young Threadgill did earn a reputation for daring in his Chicago neighborhood. His mother's response — "Henry, why do you have to be so *extreme*?" — became, as he writes, "the refrain of my childhood."

That same question may have occurred to a few listeners. But Threadgill, 79, has done plenty of soaring, on stages, over the years: composing music intended for social dancing, and pieces for orchestra and string quartet in which players are encouraged to improvise. He has also led some of the most widely acclaimed ensembles in the past half-century of American jazz.

Appropriately, he has an interdisciplinary spirit. In addition to his book — written with Brent Hayes Edwards and published by Knopf earlier this month — Threadgill is engaged in a flurry of additional artistic activity, including a new album, "The Other One," out on Pi Recordings.

Scored for a 12-piece ensemble and recorded live at Roulette last year, Threadgill's chamber music on this release impressed me immediately, as I wrote when it was performed. Those concerts also featured multimedia elements, which Threadgill incorporated into a documentary film that provides a fuller look at the material. That movie, which he produced and edited with D. Carlton Bright, screened at the Museum of Modern Art in late May.

Both the show and the film helped Threadgill scratch a long-held creative itch. In a recent interview, he recalled having been impressed by Alban Berg's opera "Lulu," which, in an unusual touch for its period, makes dramatic use of a short film at its midpoint. ("That's one of my favorite operas," he said. "Love 'Lulu!'")

Threadgill said that when he produced the staged version of "The Other One," he realized: "Now is my chance to integrate art, poetry, photographs — everything — into one piece."

This can be a lot to keep up with. But as in his childhood, Threadgill comes by his extreme approach to artistic production honestly.

That much was clear earlier this spring when I met him at one of his favorite spots: a combination coffee shop and plant store in the East Village. At one point, as I was peppering him with questions about his mutability, he gestured to consumers throughout the store.

"It has to do with cognition," he replied. "What do we really see or observe? All these people are different sizes, but it's the same bone structure."

Put another way, all his work is connected, even if he's not going to get into the DNA of it all with you at the drop of a hat. As he writes in his book, "I find that the less I say about my music, the better." (And at another point: "*Music is about listening*. Nothing I say can mean anything once you start to listen.")

Still, a question or two may linger. For example, doesn't the piano music that kicks off "The Other One" flirt in a surprising way with noirish harmony? And doesn't that represent something of a break with much of his output this century, which has been conceived outside major/minor composition?

When I brought that up, Threadgill said, with a touch of good-natured evasion: "These tonal centers, they don't really mean anything. I love harmony and stuff. But it's kinda like looking at those flowers over there. You keep scanning; you never really stop."

Fair enough. This piano music — laced as it is with those recognizable tonalities — doesn't simply resolve there. At the end of that opening section, two saxophones enter with staggered lines that hustle into a more frenetic state of mind. That's the more recognizable, recent sound world of Threadgill's music, driven by a quasi-serialized use of intervals, that has most often been performed by his core ensemble, Zooid.

Subsequent sections in "The Other One," like the track titled "Mvt I, Sections 6A-7A," sound more like the Zooid recording of "In for a Penny, In for a Pound," which won Threadgill his Pulitzer.

Still, there's a sense of that language being developed on the new album, particularly in the music for strings, which is featured during much of "Movement II." "I've been able to expand the language," Threadgill said. "I have a whole 'nother freedom now, where I'm moving."

He then leaped from his seat, seeking a piece of paper from the shop's employees. On the scrap, he began to diagram some of the modernist composer Edgard Varèse's ideas about flipping musical intervals — an approach he also describes toward the end of "Easily Slip" — and showed how he was building on Varèse's example in "The Other One."

After Threadgill filled up the paper with sequences of intervals and melodic phrases — the latter built from a pattern, like Morse Code, of long and short phrases — he moved to toss his notes in the trash.

I stopped him. Preserving Threadgill's working methods is no small matter. Throughout "Easily Slip," there are tantalizing references to recordings of vintage orchestral performances that have yet to be made available to the public. Some important collaborations, such as concerts with Cecil Taylor, have not been preserved on fixed media at all.

Threadgill is thinking about fixing some of these problems. One orchestral recording in his possession may eventually see the light of day on a website, currently under construction, called Baker's Dozen, a portal that he also plans to offer to other artists who have valuable unreleased tapes in their possession. (He mentioned the pioneering Minimalist Terry Riley as someone who might wind up providing material for the site.)

"The Other One" is a majestic addition to Threadgill's discography, but its film version deserves a wider airing, too. It captures his sense of humor, which tended to emerge during this show whenever he was discussing photographs that he took of possessions abandoned in New York City streets early in the pandemic. He is currently sending the documentary to various festivals, he said, "to see what kind of credits we can pick up."

Other projects in the works, as ever, seem bound to have an unconventional slant. Threadgill said that he has been impressed by the strides that collaborators and acquaintances like Anthony Davis and Terence Blanchard have had in mainstream opera, a world he says isn't really for him.

Instead, Threadgill is planning what he called a "corrupted oratorio," featuring two choirs: "a traditional choir and a gospel choir," plus piano and organ, and other instruments as it develops. "I don't like preconceived forms, you know?" he said. "I like to create new forms."

RAHIM FORTUNE FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

In his book, Henry Threadgill says "the less I say about my music, the better."

For Her Latest Book, a High Score

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

The relentless buzz has put Zevin in an odd position as a midcareer novelist. Even though "Tomorrow, and Tomorrow, and Tomorrow" is not her first book, or even her first to be a best seller, many readers are coming to her work for the first time. (Oprah Daily mistakenly called it "one of the year's most ingenious debuts.")

"When someone has a breakout moment like this, people are always like, 'Oh, you appeared out of nowhere,'" said the novelist Celeste Ng, who praised the book as "a page turner but also, really, this technical marvel."

"She didn't come out of nowhere," Ng said.

Zevin has been publishing at a frenetic pace for nearly two decades, and yet she has rarely repeated herself. Since her debut in 2005, she has written a family drama about war and capitalism, a futuristic dystopian series for young adults, a fablelike Y.A. novel about the afterlife, a quirky novel about a cranky bookseller who unexpectedly finds love and a bitingly funny one about politics, sexism and the double standards women face for sexual indiscretions.

"She has had it all in her career, she's had a global smash, but she's also had books that absolutely failed to connect for whatever reason," said Emma Straub, a novelist and an owner of the independent Brooklyn store Books Are Magic, where "Tomorrow, and Tomorrow, and Tomorrow" has been the top-selling title this year. "For those of us on the backside of 40 who have half a dozen books under our belts, this is so beautiful to watch. She is operating at the height of her powers, and people are noticing."

Growing up in Boca Raton, Fla., where both of her parents worked for I.B.M., Zevin was lonely most of the time. The only child of a Korean American mother and a Jewish father, she often felt culturally adrift and out of place. One day, her father, a programmer, brought home a computer loaded with games, including Alley Cat, in which the player is a mischievous cat who jumps through windows into different apartments. "I remember thinking that the game solved a very particular problem for me, which was the problem of solitude," she said. "It became like an instant friend."

From there, she discovered games like King's Quest IV and Oregon Trail, which felt like immersive worlds she could disappear into. "These were really formative stories for me," she said.

MICHAEL SCHMELLING FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Even though "Tomorrow, and Tomorrow, and Tomorrow" is not Gabrielle Zevin's first book, or even her first best seller, many readers are coming to her work for the first time.

She majored in English at Harvard University, where she met her partner, the director Hans Canosa. After graduating, they moved to New York. Zevin worked furiously on film scripts and plays. One day, she had an idea that didn't seem right for any of those formats. It became her novel "Elsewhere," about a teenage girl who dies in a bike accident and wakes up in an afterlife where people age backward until they are reborn. Around the same time, she had the idea for "Margarettown," a surreal novel about a young man whose love for a woman named Margaret draws him into an alternate world.

Both novels were published in 2005, when Zevin was 27, but they had wildly different trajectories. Critics praised "Margarettown," which Miramax Books published as an adult novel, but it failed commercially, selling around 4,200 print copies, according to Circana BookScan. "Elsewhere," a young adult novel that Farrar, Straus and Giroux released several months later, went on to sell more than 350,000 copies.

'I knew that if it were to work, it would have to be probably better than anything I had done before.'

GABRIELLE ZEVIN
AUTHOR

Over the next eight years, Zevin wrote at a frenetic pace. She published another young-adult novel and a futuristic Y.A. trilogy, and she spent years working on another literary novel, "The Hole We're In," about a family struggling with financial debt. But nothing matched the commercial success of "Elsewhere."

Then, in 2014, Zevin released "The Storied Life of A. J. Fikry," a love letter to literary culture that centers on an ornery bookstore owner with narrow taste whose horizons are expanded when he falls in love. For reasons that still mystify Zevin, it became a global blockbuster, selling more than 850,000 copies in the United States and more than four million worldwide. It was adapted into a feature film in 2022 that was based on a screenplay Zevin wrote, with Canosa, her partner, as the director.

Again, it seemed like Zevin's breakout moment, and again, success proved fleeting. Three years later, when she published "Young Jane Young," about a congressional intern who is publicly shamed for having an affair with her boss, it drew strong reviews but sold fewer than 10,000 hardcover copies.

Zevin wallowed for a bit, unsure of what to do next. When she had the idea for a novel about game designers in late 2017, she worried that she wouldn't be able to pull it off. Even though she had played video games all her life, she knew next to nothing about how they were made.

"It seemed that the subject was so vast, and I knew that if it were to work, it would have to be probably better than anything I had done before," she said.

She spent years researching the novel, which spans some three decades in the lives of Sam and Sadie. They bond over video games as children and then build a successful company together, making increasingly sophisticated games as technology improves.

Zevin read books about gaming culture and design and watched gamers on YouTube and the livestreaming service Twitch. She played old video games like the original Super Mario Bros. and newer ones that she wouldn't normally be drawn to, like first-person shooter games, and immersed herself in cinematic-quality ones like The Last of Us. During the hours she spent playing, she was often struck by the games' narrative complexity and ability to conjure empathy.

A few times, Zevin almost abandoned the book, worried that the subject wouldn't resonate with a wide audience.

When her literary agent, Douglas Stewart, sent out the manuscript in January 2021, he felt in some ways as if he were introducing her for the first time. "Despite the fact that Gabrielle had several big successes before, there are people who had never heard of her before this," he said.

A frenzied bidding war with 10 publishers broke out, and Knopf won, paying a seven-figure advance. Shortly after, an auction for screen rights drew 25 bidders, and Paramount Pictures bought them for $2 million. Foreign rights sold in 37 territories. Zevin went on "The Tonight Show" with Jimmy Fallon.

The novel landed on the New York Times best-seller list at No. 3 in July and stayed for eight weeks before dropping off. Then, in December, critics' best-of-2022 lists gave the novel a second life, and it sailed back onto the best-seller lists. Knopf, which initially printed 60,000 copies, has reprinted the book 21 times to keep up with runaway sales. This spring, big stores like Walmart and Target, as well as some grocery chains, started carrying it for the first time.

Zevin, who lives in Los Angeles with Canosa and their dogs, Frank, a pug mix, and Leia, a dachshund mix, is writing the screenplay for "Tomorrow, and Tomorrow, and Tomorrow," a project that presents new narrative challenges.

Looking back, Zevin said she felt fortunate that she was able to carve such an eclectic path, without confining herself to a particular niche.

"I've had enough successes," she said, "to balance out the failures over the years."

JASON ZINOMAN | ON COMEDY

AARON RICKETTS/NETFLIX

AMAZON PRIME VIDEO

YOUTUBE

From left: Wanda Sykes, Zarna Garg and Greg Warren riff on sexuality, ethnicity and even peanut butter in new concert specials.

What's So Funny? Stand-Ups.

In specials, little is off limits as well-known names deliver hours of setups and punchlines.

Zarna Garg, 'One in a Billion'

AMAZON PRIME

Most comedy about the American immigrant family is related from the point of view of the assimilated son or daughter poking fun at the clueless, thick-accented parents. The beauty of our current moment is the many new perspectives on old jokes. In the fertile scene of South Asian comedians, Zarna Garg represents something fresh: the revenge of the Indian mom. She's heard the jokes about the closed-minded Indian parents forcing their children to go to medical school. Now she fires back forcefully, with enough panache to subvert stereotypes even as she's fully embracing them. Her ethnic and religious humor (she makes a convincing case for Hindu being the most chill religion) is unapologetically old-fashioned: quick setups, rapid-fire punchlines, her name in giant letters on the set behind her. There's a genuine warmth behind the slickness. You believe her extreme pride in her daughter going to Stanford just as much as her operatic horror at the fact that she's studying ceramics. Garg has the kind of presence that powers network sitcoms. Of the recent spate of specials produced by Amazon Prime, tentatively tiptoeing into competition with Netflix, hers is the best.

Sarah Silverman, 'Someone You Love'

MAX

Have you ever wondered if porn ruined the Catholic schoolgirl uniform? Or about the relationship between Judaism and diarrhea? Or the many sexual sounds that go into the term "moral compass"? It will not surprise anyone that Sarah Silverman has. These are only some of the scatological and sexual premises she summons up in her new hour (which debuted Saturday). Silverman is 52 but looks and sounds just like that virtuosic comic who rocketed to fame in the 1990s. She has evolved, of course, and the virtue of doing so is one of the themes of her characteristically funny special, but it plays a minor role next to bits about masturbation and Hitler. While she's known for juvenile gags and political humor, what's also essential to her comedy is how distinctively loopy she can be. As influential as she has been, no other comic quite captures this aspect. She has one randomly charming bit about how when she comes home, she says hello in a booming voice over and over. "Sparkle peanut," she tells herself before going onstage, right before an introduction by Mel Brooks, a spiritual forefather.

She's shambling and casual. Sometimes too much so. Did she need to keep in the part where she singled out a guy for leaving his seat, disrupting the flow of a joke? But her special is bracketed by two fun sketches: a final song about bad breath performed with incongruous and committed elegance, and an opening scene with her (fictional) children backstage. She thanks the woman standing next to them, says she has been amazing and adds: "Everyone said, 'Don't get a hot nanny.'" Then she pauses for an uncomfortably long silence.

Wanda Sykes, 'I'm an Entertainer'

NETFLIX

My favorite punchline in the latest special by Wanda Sykes is the title: "I'm an Entertainer." It sounds banal or direct, but in the context of the joke, which involves her awakening sexuality (she came out as a lesbian after sleeping with men for years), it hits you with a jolt that is surprising and a little unsettling. That's Sykes at her best. As it happens, Sykes *is* an old-school entertainer. She can act, improvise, do sketches, host awards shows and whatever else without losing her signature snap. In her stand-up specials, she tends to stick to a recipe consisting of a chunk of sharply topical liberal jokes (hit or miss), some personal bits about amusing tension with her cigarette-wielding French wife and white kids (solidly funny) and a few tense wild cards. Then for the crowd-pleaser, she brings on Esther, the roll of stomach fat she named after the "Good Times" star Esther Rolle. Mouthy, no-nonsense, up for some fun, Esther always gets laughs. But we learn in this new hour that Sykes is considering removing her breasts on the advice of her doctor, who suggested building new ones from tissue from her gut. (Sykes doesn't explain why.) In other words, Esther is moving neighborhoods and will be close enough to her neck that Sykes worries about getting strangled.

Greg Warren, 'The Salesman'

YOUTUBE

With the kind of puffed-chest intensity you tend to see in high school football coaches and motivational speakers, Greg Warren brags that he was "a big deal in the peanut butter game." He worked in sales for Jif and shot this hour in Lexington, Ky., because that's where the company made its products. Maybe he really was a big deal moving jars. Who knows? But after this special, he owns this nutty spread, comedically. Warren trash-talks rival brands (look out, Peter Pan), does on-brand crowd work ("What kind of peanut butter do you eat?") and gets political in discussing how Smucker's bought his old employer. It now owns peanut butter *and* jelly, he tells us, before adding with a mix of gravity and anxiety, "If they ever get ahold of bread." By the end, Warren has made another sale: He has done for peanut butter what Jerry Seinfeld did for Pop-Tarts and Jim Gaffigan did for Hot Pockets.

Lewis Black, 'Tragically, I Need You'

YOUTUBE

If a stand-up can tap into or channel the fury of an audience, he can light up a room. But maintaining that anger is tricky. It can curdle into shtick or just wear out its welcome. Lewis Black's great gift is that behind that dyspeptic front, you could detect a thoughtful, introspective side, a little damaged perhaps. He shows us more of that vulnerable side here, in part because the isolation of the pandemic put him in a reflective mood. The title refers to the audience. Along with swinging sharp political elbows, in defense of Dr. Anthony S. Fauci, say, Black beats himself up over past relationships and sings the praises of companionship. He talks about his failed career as a playwright, bringing up theater because "I like to feel the interest of the audience leave the room."

'Anatomy of a Fall' Wins at Cannes

Justine Triet is the third woman to be honored with the Palme d'Or.

By MANOHLA DARGIS

GONZALO FUENTES/REUTERS

The French director Justine Triet with her Palme d'Or on Saturday.

The 76th Cannes Film Festival ended Saturday with the Palme d'Or awarded to "Anatomy of a Fall." Directed by Justine Triet, this intellectual thriller centers on a woman who is brought to trial after the mysterious death of her husband. Written by Triet and Arthur Harari, the film was an early favorite with critics.

Triet is the third woman to have won the Palme; Julia Ducournau won in 2021 for "Titane," and Jane Campion took the prize in 1993 for "The Piano."

The Palme was presented to Triet by Jane Fonda, who noted the "historic" number of women — seven — who had films competing for the top honor. The strong main competition, with a jury led by the director Ruben Ostlund, effectively announced that the festival had returned to full strength after the pandemic years.

The Grand Prix, essentially the festival's runner-up award, was given to "The Zone of Interest." Directed by Jonathan Glazer and based on the novel of the same title by Martin Amis, the film centers on the commandant of Auschwitz and his wife, whose home is adjacent to the extermination camp. An icy exploration of the banality of evil — the family eats, relaxes and sleeps to the constant sounds of screams, shouts and gunfire — the movie sharply divided the critics here.

"Fallen Leaves," the latest from the Finnish filmmaker Aki Kaurismäki, won the Jury Prize. A love story in a gently funny and melancholic key, the movie stars Alma Poysti and Jussi Vatanen as a couple who meet one night in Helsinki. The actors accepted the award on behalf of their director, who sat out the presentation.

Best director went to the Vietnamese-French filmmaker Tran Anh Hung for "The Pot-au-Feu." A sumptuous drama set in the late 19th century, the film stars Juliette Binoche and Benoît Magimel as a gourmand couple who live and cook in rural France. The movie's focus on the sensual pleasures of food charmed many, though a less-enchanted critic likened it to a French Nancy Meyers movie.

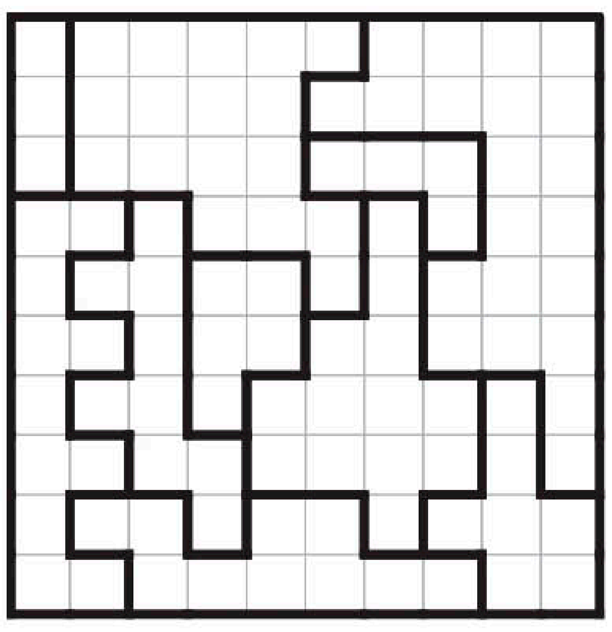
The screenwriting prize was awarded to Yuji Sakamoto for "Monster." Directed by the Japanese auteur Hirokazu Kore-eda, this touching drama centers on a boy whose sudden behavior issues at school escalate with profound consequences. "Monster" features a delicate score by Ryuichi Sakamoto, who died in March.

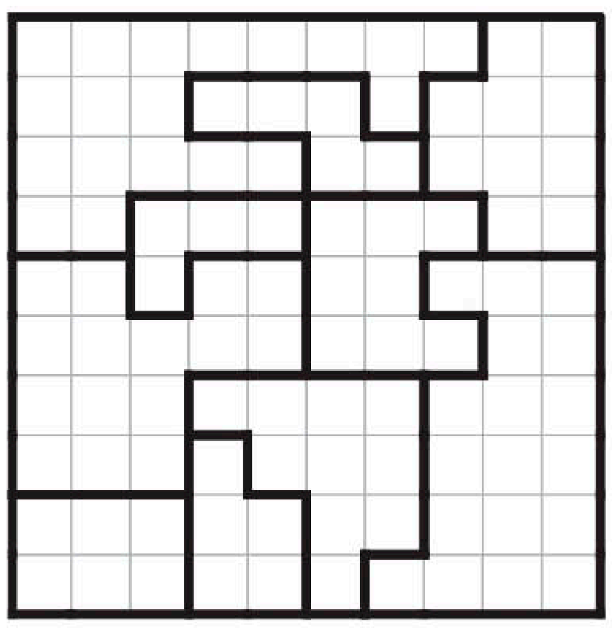
The best actor prize went to the great veteran Japanese actor Koji Yakusho, the star of Wim Wenders's "Perfect Days." The film centers on a loner who works cleaning (some amazing) public restrooms in Tokyo. His quiet, routinized existence is disrupted by an unexpected visit from a niece, an interlude that brings him joy but also anguish. Wenders, whose documentary "Anselm" was shown out of competition, watched with a broad smile as Yakusho received the award.

The best actress prize went to Merve Dizdar for her role as a teacher in "About Dry Grasses" from the Turkish filmmaker Nuri Bilge Ceylan. This slow-boiling drama centers on a male teacher, Samet, who becomes increasingly bitter about his job teaching in remote eastern Anatolia. Dizdar's character, Nuray, helps him through his crisis, a stereotypical role that the actress elevates with warmth and subtlety.

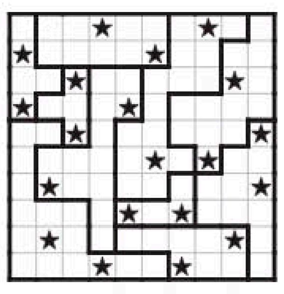
The prize for Un Certain Regard, a section that tends to feature younger directors and what the festival calls "more artistically daring" work than in the main competition, was won by "How to Have Sex," the directorial debut from the British filmmaker Molly Manning Walker. The prize for first feature, the Caméra d'Or, was given to "Inside the Yellow Cocoon Shell," from the Vietnamese-born director Thien An Pham. The Palme for the best short film was presented to "27," from the Hungarian animator Flóra Anna Buda.

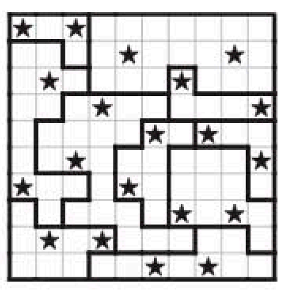
Two Not Touch





ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES





Put two stars in each row, column and region of the grid. No two stars may touch, not even diagonally.

Copyright © 2023 www.krazydad.com

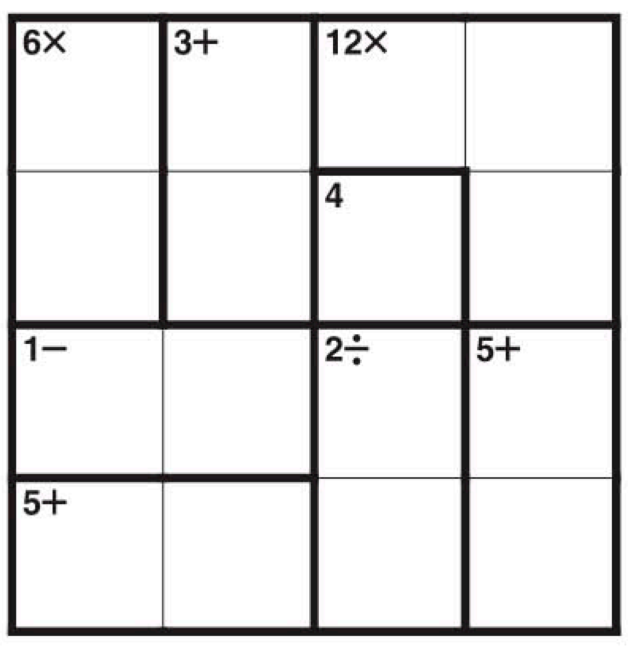
Brain Tickler

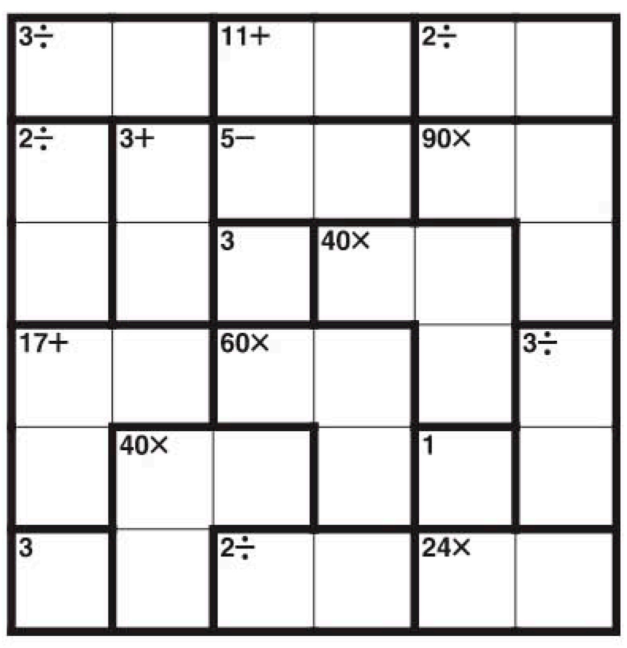
The initials R.D.A. stand for "recommended dietary allowance." They're also the initials of what popular food item (3,9,5)?

PUZZLE BY WILL SHORTZ

SATURDAY'S ANSWER Maraschino, no charisma, harmonicas

KenKen





ANSWERS TO PREVIOUS PUZZLES

2	4	1	3
1	3	2	4
3	2	4	1
4	1	3	2

1	2	6	5	3	4
3	1	5	4	2	6
2	5	1	6	4	3
5	4	3	1	6	2
4	6	2	3	1	5
6	3	4	2	5	1

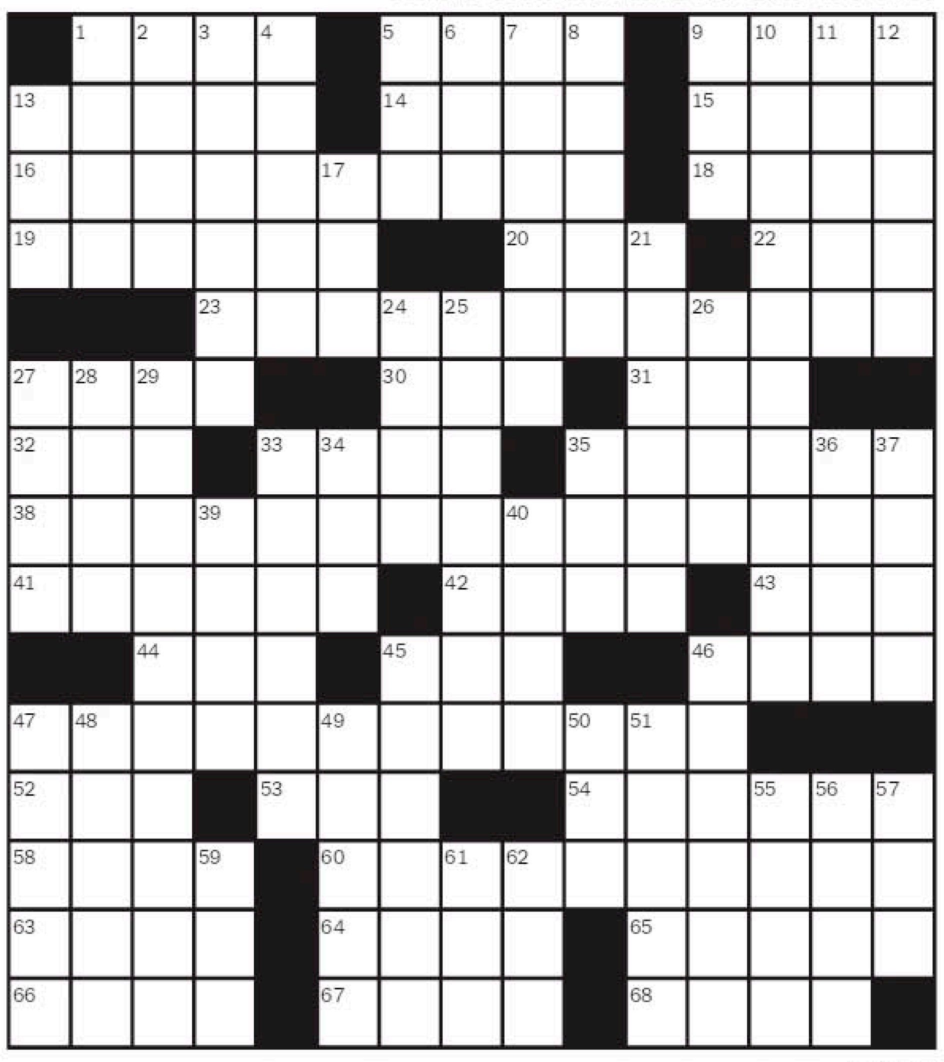
Fill the grid with digits so as not to repeat a digit in any row or column, and so that the digits within each heavily outlined box will produce the target number shown, by using addition, subtraction, multiplication or division, as indicated in the box. A 4x4 grid will use the digits 1-4. A 6x6 grid will use 1-6.

For more games: www.nytimes.com/games

KenKen® is a registered trademark of Nextoy, LLC. Copyright © 2023 www.KENKEN.com. All rights reserved.

Crossword | Edited by Will Shortz

PUZZLE BY KATIE HALE AND ZACHARY DAVID LEVY



5/29/23

ACROSS

1 Org. that operates the James Webb telescope
5 Money owed
9 "___, poor Yorick!": Shak.
13 Sleeps out under the stars
14 Sharif who played Doctor Zhivago
15 Not in danger
16 Longest side of a right triangle
18 Funerary fire
19 Arrange by category
20 Write-___ (protest votes, typically)
22 Jerry's cartoon counterpart
23 Reckless way to play things
27 Fling
30 Six-pack units, in brief
31 Veer, as a ship
32 Play component
33 Unadorned
35 Bisected evenly
38 Dessert made with cocoa and egg whites
41 Goldilocks's complaint about the first bowl of porridge
42 Walked (on)
43 Bit of body ink, for short
44 Public prosecutors, in brief
45 Opus ___
46 ___ noire (bane)
47 Quaint cry of surprise
52 Owns
53 Bro or sis
54 Bat, rat or cat, but not a gnat
58 Very eager
60 Smoothie chain founded in 1990
63 Give up, as territory
64 Lead-in to boy or girl
65 App customers
66 Was certain of
67 Large group of people or birds
68 Bird seen on the drive to Haleakala National Park

DOWN

1 No votes
2 Some sound equipment on stage
3 Comedic sendups
4 Ad ____ (Latin for "to the stars")
5 Put on
6 Down Under bird
7 Washtubs
8 One might be statistically significant
9 Cairo cobra
10 Completely destroy
11 Voluminous hairstyles
12 Worrisome note to get from a boss
13 "___-ching!"
17 U.F.O. pilots
21 Surreptitious gesture with the head
24 "Gone With the Wind" estate
25 Aided and ___ (helped illegally)
26 Island home to Honolulu
27 Good skill for a diplomat
28 Cuatro + cuatro
29 Got out of the way
33 Gives a leg up
34 Ctrl-___-Del
35 "If u ask me ..."
36 Aspiring J.D.'s exam
37 Big bash
39 Converse
40 One of the Great Lakes
45 Argue back and forth
46 Perplex
47 Off, in mob-speak
48 Peaceful refuge
49 Head covering whose name means "curtain" in Arabic
50 Actress Thurman of "Pulp Fiction"
51 Cuisine style of Louisiana
55 Personal appearance
56 Land unit
57 "___ Misérables"
59 Drops on a lawn
61 Cable channel that was launched with the words "Ladies and gentlemen, rock and roll"
62 San Francisco/Oakland separator

ANSWER TO PREVIOUS PUZZLE

G	I	N	S	U	P			R	A	C	E	B	I	B
O	N	E	O	N	E			A	L	L	M	I	N	E
O	P	E	N	T	A	B		S	L	E	I	G	H	S
D	A	D	J	O	K	E	S		E	A	R	N	I	T
I	R	M	A		T	A	W	N	Y			O	D	E
E	K	E		L	I	N	E	A		D	I	N	E	D
			T	A	M	P	E	R	P	R	O	O	F	
		M	O	D	E	L	T	R	A	I	N	S		
	T	O	T	E	S	A	D	O	R	B	S			
H	O	B	O	S		N	E	W	T	S		Y	E	T
A	R	F			S	T	A	G	Y		L	E	A	H
H	E	R	N	I	A		L	A	B	W	A	S	T	E
A	C	O	U	P	L	E		P	O	O	R	Y	O	U
H	A	N	D	O	U	T			S	A	V	E	U	S
A	P	T	E	S	T	S			S	H	A	S	T	A

Online subscriptions: Today's puzzle and more than 9,000 past puzzles, nytimes.com/crosswords ($39.95 a year).

Read about and comment on each puzzle: nytimes.com/wordplay.

This Week on TV

A SELECTION OF SHOWS, SPECIALS AND MOVIES. BY SHIVANI GONZALEZ

Monday

WHITE HOUSE PLUMBERS *9 p.m. on HBO.* This show starring Woody Harrelson and Justin Theroux, based on the Watergate scandal, is wrapping up this week. The five-episode limited series features Harrelson and Theroux as E. Howard Hunt and G. Gordon Liddy, who bugged the headquarters of the Democratic National Committee during the 1972 presidential election. From there, we all pretty much know the rest of the story.

REALITY *10:05 p.m. on HBO.* Set in 2017 and based on a true story, this new show follows Reality Winner, an Air Force veteran and National Security Agency contractor as she is questioned by the F.B.I. for leaking a classified report about election interference during the 2016 presidential race. The dialogue in the series, starring Sydney Sweeney, is taken from the real F.B.I. transcripts from Winner's questioning.

Tuesday

AMERICA'S GOT TALENT *8 p.m. on NBC.* Entering its 18th season, the show that celebrates talents and strange party tricks of all kinds is back with its first round of auditions this week. Terry Crews is returning as the host and Simon Cowell, Heidi Klum, Howie Mandel and Sofía Vergara will all be back as judges.

Wednesday

DAVE *10 p.m. on FXX.* This semi-autobiographical show about the rapper Dave Burd, a.k.a. Lil Dicky, is wrapping up its third season this week with Dave ending his quest to find love. The show, which originally started as a story about a man in his late 20s who believed he was destined to become one of the greatest rappers of all time, has slowly turned into a show about Dave actually being a rapper, touring around and finding modest success.

EDDY CHEN/HBO

Lily-Rose Depp and Abel Tesfaye in HBO's "The Idol," the "sleaziest love story in all of Hollywood."

SECRETS OF THE DEAD: ABANDONING THE TITANIC *10 p.m. on PBS (check local listings).* The sinking of the R.M.S. Titanic has had countless retellings; from the 1997 film to many documentaries, there is not a lot left unknown or uncovered. But in this documentary, investigators talk about a lesser-known detail: When the Titanic was sinking, another ship in sight sailed away instead of helping the people freezing to death in the water. Who was on the ship that sailed away? This documentary finds out.

Thursday

VIVA LAS VEGAS (1964) *6:30 p.m. on TCM.* Elvis Presley plays a musically gifted racecar driver (naturally), who goes to Las Vegas to win enough money to buy a new car so he can enter the Grand Prix, but he ends up loosing all his earnings. While trying to make his money back, he falls into a love triangle with a swimming instructor (Ann-Margret) and another racecar driver (Cesare Danova). "Whatever it isn't, 'Viva Las Vegas' remains friendly, wholesome and pretty as all get-out," Howard Thompson wrote in his 1964 review for The New York Times.

Friday

OCEAN'S 11 (2001) *7:30 p.m. on TNT.* If you've seen these films, starring George Clooney, Brad Pitt, Matt Damon and lots of other big names, you know the three rules: "Don't hurt anybody, don't steal from anyone who doesn't deserve it, and play the game like you've got nothing to lose." That's how Danny Ocean (Clooney, left) and his accomplices pull off one of the most elaborate casino heists that Vegas has seen. "For those not so taken by the star power, this new 'Ocean's Eleven' is the equivalent of a domineering team you can't stand that enters the Super Bowl," Elvis Mitchell wrote in his review for The Times. "Even if you don't like the players, the odds are so good that it's tough to bet against them."

Dates, details and times are subject to change.

Saturday

STANLEY CUP FINALS *8 p.m. on various networks.* After a long hockey playoff season with lots of ups and downs (see: the Seattle Kraken beating the Colorado Avalanche), we have arrived at the finals, with the Florida Panthers playing either the Vegas Golden Knights or the Dallas Stars in Game 1.

Sunday

TITANIC (1997) *6 p.m. on VH1.* After watching the Titanic documentary on Wednesday, tune in for this whooping three-hour-plus fictionalized account, starring Leonardo DiCaprio and Kate Winslet (above) as Jack and Rose, lovers who meet on the ship. Come for the love story and decadence, stay for the harrowing scenes of characters meeting terrifying deaths. "Beyond its romance, 'Titanic' offers an indelibly wrenching story of blind arrogance and its terrible consequences," Janet Maslin wrote in her review for The Times.

THE IDOL *9 p.m. on HBO.* The production of this show, starring Lily-Rose Depp and Abel Tesfaye (a.k.a. The Weeknd), got a rocky start and was eventually taken over by the "Euphoria" creator Sam Levinson. Now it is finally coming to small screens. The show, which has been marketed by HBO as the "sleaziest love story in all of Hollywood," follows an aspiring pop star (Depp) and her relationship with Tedros (Tesfaye), a self-help guru. "There's a lot of dirty talk so grossly delivered by the Weeknd that you may need to mute and switch to closed captioning," the Times reporter Kyle Buchanan wrote about the show after seeing the first two episodes at Cannes Film Festival.

A 'Little Mermaid,' Refreshed for Today

Ariel's look is one of many changes in the remake.

By SARAH BAHR

This article contains spoilers about the live-action version of "The Little Mermaid."

Ariel, poor girl, already had no voice — and that was before the sea witch added selective amnesia to the mix.

It's one of more than a dozen changes to the classic 1989 Disney animated film made for the new live-action adaptation, which is almost an hour longer. Among them: new songs; updated lyrics to "Kiss the Girl" and "Poor Unfortunate Souls"; and a personality for Prince Eric.

Here are 13 ways the remake, directed by Rob Marshall, differs from the original.

1. Ariel has locs.

Halle Bailey, whose casting as Ariel led to a racist backlash, and the crew knew that death-by-flat-iron to recreate Ariel's flowing mane of straight red hair was not the way to go. Instead, Bailey sported her natural locs, which were wrapped with strands of red hair.

"As Black women our crowns are so special to us," Bailey, who has worn locs since she was 5, told The New York Times. "Our hair is important to us in every single way, so I was really grateful that I was allowed to keep that essence of me."

2. Flounder looks like . . . a fish.

When audiences got their first look at live-action Flounder in the trailer, there was a consensus: too real. "Before and after ozempic," The Atlantic's Sophie Gilbert tweeted with shots of Ariel's anxious sidekick looking plump and colorful then and flat and scaly now.

IMAGES VIA DISNEY

Halle Bailey's Ariel, left, is notably different from the mermaid in the original "The Little Mermaid," below, a Disney film from 1989.

3. Prince Eric is a perk, not the prize.

For Bailey's Ariel, it's the human world that piques her curiosity, not just the handsome prince (played by Jonah Hauer-King). Instead of giving up everything for him, Bailey told The Face, "it's more about Ariel finding freedom for herself because of this world that she's obsessed with."

4. He is more than just a pretty face.

Now he has a back story, too. "In the animated film — I'm sure the original creators would agree with this — it's a wooden, classic prince character with not a lot going on," Marshall told Entertainment Weekly. Now Eric's trajectory is similar to Ariel's. "He doesn't feel like it's where he fits in, his world," Marshall said.

5. Meet Prince Eric's mother.

Queen Selina (Noma Dumezweni) isn't fond of the underwater realm and doesn't understand her son's obsession with oceanic exploration. The remake uses the added time to explore the divide between mermaids and humans.

6. You might sympathize with King Triton.

The overprotective ruler of the seas (Javier Bardem) also gets a more nuanced narrative, focused on why he hates humans so much. (His wife, Ariel's mother, was killed by humans, a back story that fans of the prequel and TV series may know but that isn't in the original.)

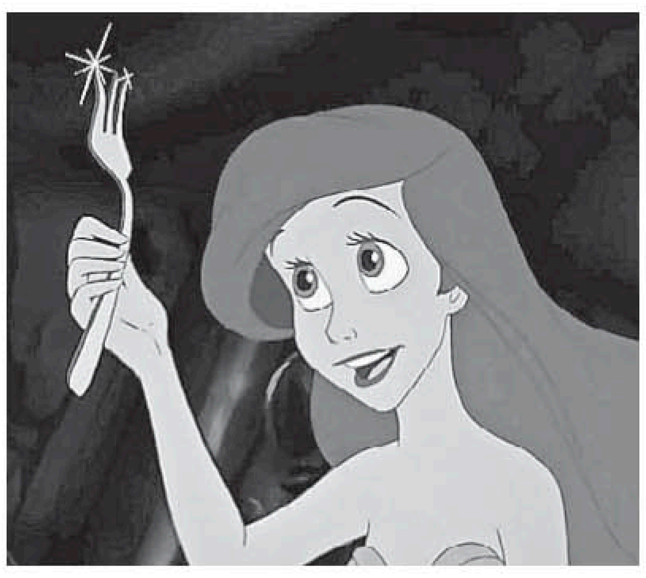
7. Ariel and Eric share actual interests.

Though their courtship still takes place in a blink-and-you-miss-it three days, the extra run time means they can do things other than make goo-goo eyes at each other, like poring over artifacts in his study and visiting a market.

8. You may feel like you're watching 'Hamilton.'

Lin-Manuel Miranda — the "Hamilton" creator who's also a big "Little Mermaid" fan — collaborated with the animated film's composer, Alan Menken, on three new songs. (The original lyricist, Howard Ashman, died in 1991.)

The new tunes are: "The Scuttlebutt," a very Miranda-esque rap performed by Scuttle (Awkwafina) and Sebastian (Daveed Diggs) when they are trying to figure out whom Prince Eric will marry; a quintessentially Menken ballad for Prince Eric, "Wild Uncharted Waters"; and a Latin-infused number for Ariel, "For the First Time," when she gets her legs.



9. Two tunes sport updated lyrics.

While "Kiss the Girl" originally suggested Eric do just that without asking Ariel first ("It don't take a word, not a single word/Go on and kiss the girl"), Sebastian now advises him to "use your words, boy, and ask her." Menken told Vanity Fair they wanted to avoid suggesting the prince "would, in any way, force himself" on Ariel.

And in "Poor Unfortunate Souls," while Ursula originally informs Ariel that "on land it's much preferred/for ladies not to say a word" and that "it's she who holds her tongue who gets a man," the new version, sung by Melissa McCarthy, drops that verse entirely. (Because, Menken told Vanity Fair, some lines "might make young girls somehow feel that they shouldn't speak out of turn, even though Ursula is clearly manipulating Ariel.")

10. 'Les Poissons' is Les Poi-gone.

As is Chef Louis, the French-accented cook who is out to serve up Sebastian.

11. Ariel has selective amnesia regarding a certain kiss.

Because simply losing her voice would have been too easy. Ursula's spell now makes Ariel forget she must get Eric to kiss her.

12. Get ready to be Team Grimsby.

You might have forgotten he was even in the original, but Art Malik's performance as the prince's confidant will have you waving the Grimsby flag. He does everything he can to help Ariel and Eric get together.

13. Ariel, not Eric, kills the sea witch.

That's right: In 2023, women impale their own monsters.

THEATER DIRECTORY
Your daily guide to theater

BROADWAY

PETER PAN GOES WRONG
EXTENDED BY POPULAR DEMAND THROUGH JULY 23!
"KNOCKED UNCONSCIOUS WITH LAUGHTER!" - The New York Times
"THIS FARCE DESERVES TO BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY. A TOTAL BLAST!" - Chris Jones, Chicago Tribune
PETER PAN GOES WRONG
DIRECT FROM LONDON
Featuring The Original Mischief Company
Tue at 7, Wed at 2, Thu at 7
Fri at 8, Sat at 2 & 8, Sun at 2 & 7
Telecharge.com or 212.239.6200
PanGoesWrongBway.com
Groups (10+): 1-800-BROADWAY x2
Barrymore Theatre (+), 243 W. 47th St.

SIX
WINNER OF 23 AWARDS
Including The
2022 TONY AWARD FOR BEST ORIGINAL SCORE
"A POP-ROCK AVALANCHE!" - New York Magazine
BROADWAY'S "EUPHORIC CELEBRATION!" - Entertainment Weekly
The New York Times Critic's Pick
SIX
Written by 2022 Tony Award Winners
TOBY MARLOW & LUCY MOSS
Wed at 3 & 8, Thu at 8
Fri at 8, Sat at 3 & 8, Sun at 2 & 7
SixOnBroadway.com
Groups (10+): 1-800-BROADWAY x2
Lena Horne Theatre (+), 256 W. 47 St

LIMITED ENGAGEMENTS

ASI WIND's INNER CIRCLE
NEW YORK TIMES CRITIC'S PICK
"ASTONISHING! ONE OF THE FINEST PRACTITIONERS OF CLOSE-UP MAGIC WORKING TODAY. A MASTER AT THE TOP OF HIS GAME." -THE NEW YORK TIMES
"#1 MAGIC SHOW IN NYC!" -TIME OUT NY
"DAZZLING AND ASTONISHING!" -THE NEW YORKER
David Blaine Presents
ASI WIND'S INNER CIRCLE
www.AsiWind.com
Judson Theatre
243 Thompson Street
(Across from Washington Square Park)
Now extended through September 3

THIS SIGN (+) WHEN FOLLOWING THE NAME OF A THEATER, INDICATES THAT A SHOW IS EQUIPPED WITH AN INFRARED ASSISTIVE LISTENING DEVICE.

Shop The Times.
nytimes.com/store

Store

JEOPARDY!
CLUE OF THE DAY
MEMORIALS
THE VIETNAM WAR CRYPT AT THIS MEMORIAL HAS BEEN EMPTY SINCE THE REMAINS ONCE THERE WERE IDENTIFIED & MOVED TO ST. LOUIS
FOR THE CORRECT RESPONSE, WATCH JEOPARDY! TONIGHT OR LOOK IN THIS SPACE TOMORROW IN THE TIMES.
Friday's Response:
WHO ARE THE JUTES?
Watch JEOPARDY!
7 p.m. on Channel 7

Taylor Swift's "Eras Tour" arrived in New Jersey on Friday night for the first of three shows at MetLife Stadium. "I really, really missed you!" she told the crowd of more than 72,000 people.

PHOTOGRAPHS BY JUTHARAT PINYODOONYACHET FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Taylor Swift Touches Down in New Jersey

Even those who were not lucky enough to get tickets found other ways to take part in Taylor Mania.

By MATT STEVENS

On Friday afternoon, a seemingly endless parade of Taylor Swift fans wearing flowery dresses, sparkly cowboy boots, sequined T-shirts and handmade friendship bracelets made their way to East Rutherford, N.J., turning the vast asphalt parking lot at MetLife Stadium into a pop-up performance space, a fashion runway and a meeting ground for friends, old and new.

Two months and 25 shows after the pop megastar's career-spanning "Eras Tour" began, the show arrived in the New York area for three weekend dates — her first concerts near (but not quite in) her adopted hometown in five years.

"I really, really missed you!" Swift told the crowd of more than 72,000 people.

And they had missed her.

One young woman announced that she was crying tears of joy as she strode down a tunnel leading to the parking lot. Two fans with tickets to Saturday's concert who had traveled from Costa Rica came hoping to see Swift on Friday as well. A woman in an "I ♥ T.S." shirt refused an interview request, admitting that she teaches at a public school and was not supposed to be at the stadium on a Friday afternoon.

Even getting into the parking lot required dedication — and a potentially pricey ticket.

Six months after a Ticketmaster presale filled with snags, a single seat at the show on Friday was available on the secondary market for no less than $1,000. The astronomical costs led Swift's loyal fans, known as Swifties, to band together to help each other find tickets at fair prices.

Charlie Tokieda, 39, of Brooklyn, got face-value tickets to Friday's show by waiting online during the presale, and he bought another pair of tickets on the secondary market to a show in Denver to celebrate his birthday in July.

"We did get a great deal, and that great deal could have bought a pretty nice used car," he said.

On Friday afternoon, security guards in orange shirts stood near the gates that formed a perimeter around the parking lot and demanded to see proof of admission before stepping aside. It was part of an effort to crack down on "Taylor-gating," — hanging out in the lot and listening to the concert without a ticket — which MetLife Stadium said would not be allowed.

Maria Naeem, 32, who arrived via Uber around 9:30 a.m. and slipped into the parking lot unnoticed, was among the smattering of fans and chaperones who remained outside as Swift was preparing to go onstage. Naeem, a doctor, had asked two colleagues to cover her shift and driven from Virginia in hopes of buying a ticket at will call.

"They're not selling, and everything online is very expensive," she said, disappointed.

Many of Swift's most dedicated followers dressed in D.I.Y. costumes, resembling the singer during different moments of her career. One fan draped herself in a pink-and-white "Taylor Swift 2024" flag. Others sported skirts that featured snakes, a reference to Swift's 2017 album, "Reputation."

Robert Pszybylski, 19, of Long Island, wore a flowery shirt inspired by Swift's 2021 Grammys dress, more or less custom-made for the concert.

"I kept Googling '3-D embroidered floral fabric,'" he said. "I ordered off Etsy from China. It took a month to get here."

Even those who were not fortunate enough to get tickets found other ways to take part in Taylor Mania.

For months, fans with and without tickets have been obsessed with procuring concert merchandise, sometimes camping out overnight to get first dibs on the most coveted items. Perhaps in anticipation of a mad rush to vendors, MetLife Stadium's flagship store began dispensing merch a full day early.

But those efforts did little to shorten the lines on Friday, when, in addition to a prized blue crew neck sweatshirt, fans were hoping to take home a new special edition "Midnights" CD (yes, a CD!) that included a remix of the song "Karma," featuring the up-and-coming Bronx rapper Ice Spice.

Near the end of the show, Swift premiered the remix's video starring Ice Spice, announcing that while in the studio, she "not only fell in love with her, but just decided she's the entire future." The rapper later joined Swift onstage to debut the remix and close the show. Cue a fresh round of frenzied screaming.

Though she has played about 40 of the same tracks during each three-hour-plus set, Swift has also unveiled a handful of "surprise songs" to keep delighted fans on their toes.

On Friday, she invited her frequent collaborator Jack Antonoff to perform "Getaway Car," a fan favorite from "Reputation," then took a seat at a piano for "Maroon" from "Midnights," the most recent of the four albums she has released since her last tour.

The LP, she said, was about "nights throughout my life," "things that kept me up" and "memories you keep going back to."

"Maroon," she said, was about a memory from — you guessed it:

And I lost you
The one I was dancin' with
In New York, no shoes
Looked up at the sky and it was maroon

From left, Melanie Murray entertaining some of those gathered outside the stadium, and some fans far from the stage at the end of a long night.

GIA KOURLAS | CRITIC'S NOTEBOOK

City Ballet, Breezy Yet Strong

CONTINUED FROM PAGE C1

is bigger than they are, but they know that they are its current caretakers. The care shows.

While casting was generally thoughtful — even more so than usual — the company missed the mark by assigning Erica Pereira the lead in two important Balanchine ballets, "La Source" and "Square Dance," proving that it's not always the steps that matter. She can perform them, but without more expansiveness, her body rarely comes to life *through* them.

This season, which ended on Sunday, there were many memorable performances, including the sleek Unity Phelan in "Agon," "Barocco" and "Namouna," and Joseph Gordon and Roman Mejia in just about anything.

Here are some to be treasured.

'LA SOURCE'

Indiana Woodward

The effervescence of Indiana Woodward brightens any ballet, but this season in Balanchine's "La Source," set to Delibes, her melodic finesse, her gossamer delicacy and her vivacious grace were jaw-dropping. Nothing is flat; she moves in ways that softly reveal her body's angles, always with good taste and always with subtlety. Her French lineage, as well as her generous presence and unending charm, create an affinity with the dancer on whom her role here was created: Violette Verdy. At the same time, Woodward is wholly herself.

'AFTERNOON OF A FAUN'

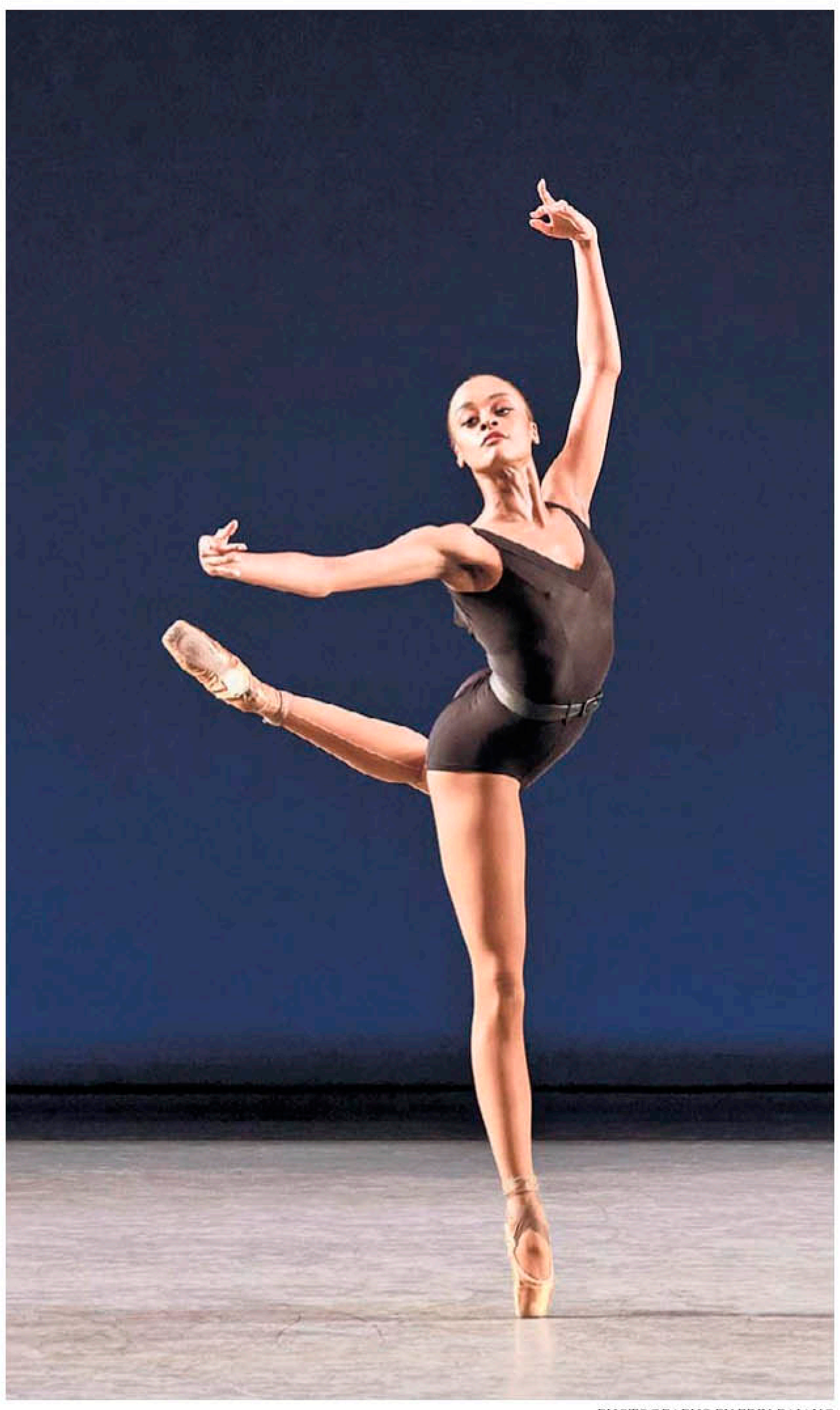
Dominika Afanasenkov

A rising corps member, Dominika Afanasenkov, with her long lines and lovely demeanor, certainly stands out in a crowd, but her debut in Robbins's intimate "Afternoon of a Faun" opposite a dreamy, understated Christopher Grant (above) proved that she isn't afraid to be seen on her own. Ethereal and dewy — with Debussy's music just about pouring out of her limbs and pliant back — Afanasenkov is a curious mix of qualities: modern, but with a rare old-world grandeur.

'CONCERTO BAROCCO'

Sara Mearns

After taking months off as she dealt with mental health issues, Sara Mearns returned to the company with a debut in "Concerto Barocco." In the first movement, you could sense her getting to know the stage again, the feeling of eyes on her. But as she eased into the music — especially in the pas de deux with Russell Janzen (above) — her unassuming simplicity and grounded, captivating beauty were an instant reminder of what we had been missing. She was dazzling in "Namouna." Her "Swan Lake," unencumbered by artifice, was raw and so full of acceptance — of herself and of the moment — that it just about tore your heart in two.

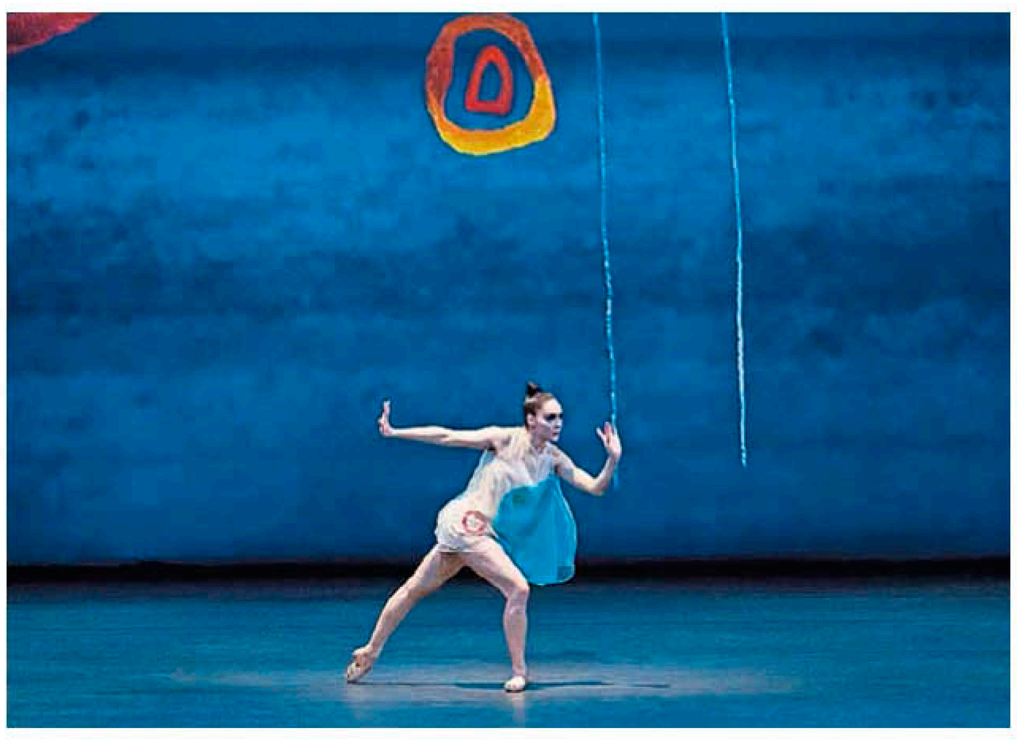


PHOTOGRAPHS BY ERIN BAIANO

'AGON'

India Bradley

In "Agon," the masterful 1957 collaboration between Balanchine and Stravinsky, a performance of the first pas de trois — with India Bradley, Taylor Stanley and Meaghan Dutton-O'Hara — was mesmerizing in its tautness. This was a vivid threesome; but Bradley, a member of the corps de ballet, rooted the steps with a seriousness that instilled her entire body with lucid focus. Throughout, she remained sensitive and strong.



'PICTURES AT AN EXHIBITION'

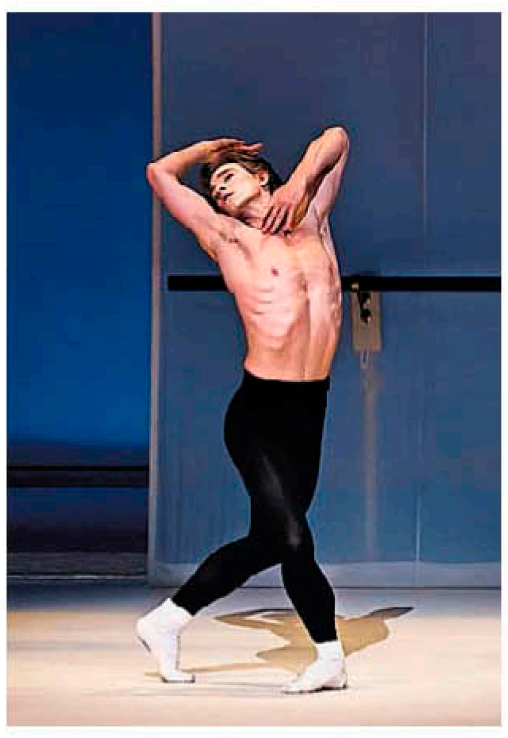
Mira Nadon

The welcome return of Ratmansky's gorgeous "Pictures at an Exhibition" brought some surprises this season. Along with the addition of a new projection to "The Great Gate of Kiev" section — the Ukrainian flag — it was also full of debuts. It was hard to peel your eyes away from Mira Nadon who has the makings of an important Ratmansky dancer. Glitteringly wild in the section "The Gnome," Nadon fluttered across the stage like she was dancing with ghosts until she smashed her palms onto the floor. There are many qualities to love about Nadon, now here is another: She isn't afraid to be weird.

'SQUARE DANCE'

Anthony Huxley

It didn't happen overnight, but Anthony Huxley, City Ballet's most elegant classicist, has grown into a dancer of such regal warmth that he seems to have carved out a new space for the modern male ballet dancer. In Balanchine's "Square Dance," he was exceptional, balancing his own supple precision with a newfound galvanizing personality: He didn't just dance this ballet, he *led* it, which contrasted strikingly with his solo variation, above, a moving image of clarity and lissome grace.



FAREWELLS

Harrison Ball and Georgina Pazcoguin

This season bid farewell to the soloist Georgina Pazcoguin and the principal Harrison Ball, each of whom left with a debut. Ball's came in "Afternoon of a Faun," in which he subtly infused his role with an air of Nijinsky. And Pazcoguin — whose performances as Anita in Jerome Robbins's "West Side Story Suite" will forever be etched in my mind — brought her boldness and humor to Ratmansky's "Namouna." Puffing on a cigarette with haughty grandeur, she moved with such relish it seemed she was leaving behind a trace of herself on the stage. Fittingly, it was full of more joy than tears.

BRITTANI SAMUEL | THEATER REVIEW

Five Women Grieve Over Father and Home

An adaptation of a village tale emphasizes the importance of belonging to a place.

FEDERICO GARCÍA LORCA described his oft-adapted "La Casa de Bernarda Alba" simply as a "drama of women in the villages of Spain." But as the Haitian American playwright Diane Exavier knows, whenever women gather — especially during times of mourning — there is always more at stake.

Exavier takes inspiration from Lorca's work to craft "Bernarda's Daughters," but she replaces the tyrannical mother of the original with the oppressive mother of a New York City summer. Bernarda — referred to here as Mommy — is never seen but lets her five daughters cycle through the family home in the Brooklyn neighborhood of Flatbush as they watch over their grandmother Florence (Tamara Tunie) and grieve their recently deceased father.

Men remain absent in this play as they do in Lorca's, and their stench lingers. It's partly a literal stench, represented by bushels of their father's laundry the daughters must clean before Mommy returns. But more emblematically, it's a figurative stink, reeking of the unappreciated sacrifices these women make for their men — especially the eldest daughter, Louise (Pascale Armand) — even long after those men are in the ground.

Mommy is absent because she's laying her husband to rest in Haiti, where it's "cheaper than burying someone in Brooklyn." Much of "Bernarda's Daughters" hinges on quips like these, which relay Exavier's ideas about gentrification. The play rarely comments on the systemic causes of this problem but reminds us of its effects: the deafening drum of construction, the garish view of new high-rises and the proliferation of fancy coffee shops. As Bernarda's second youngest, Adela (Taji Senior), sourly notes, "It's a different Brooklyn out there."

The sisters' loss, then, is not only personal, it's territorial. And each of Bernarda's daughters responds differently. Grief makes the high-strung Louise greedier, the noble Harriet (Alana Raquel Bowers) hungrier for love, the ever-amorous Maryse (Malika Samuel) lustier, the righteous Adela quicker to anger, and the naïve Lena (Kristin Dodson) more dissociative, as she takes solace in her beloved reality shows. When the sisters do gather, their banter is humorous and animated. But every so often Exavier has a sister peel off to trudge through a metaphor-laced sermon.

The director, Dominique Rider, demonstrates less control over these momentum-stealing soliloquies than they do the more naturalistic dialogue, tamping down the production's bouncy energy with low-spirited melodrama. And Carlos J. Soto's bleak scenic design offers little help. His set is an angular cavern of black mesh curtains and obtrusive columns, the opposite of every colorful and crowded Haitian home I've known.

Abstraction does not serve this work, which ultimately thrives on specificity. Taking cues from island scribes like the Barbadian poet Kamau Brathwaite and the Jamaican dramatist Sylvia Wynter — whose translation of Lorca largely influenced "Bernarda's Daughters" — Exavier uses this play to emphasize the importance of belonging to a place, and how painful it is to consign your memories of that place to the grave when its essence disappears. No wonder her characters reel off so many actual street names in the neighborhood — "the garbage all over Rogers," "the Macy's on Fulton," "the grill on Church." The naming is an act of remembrance, a way to preserve a home.

MONIQUE CARBONI

From left, Alana Raquel Bowers, Tamara Tunie, Pascale Armand and Kristin Dodson in "Bernarda's Daughters," inspired by Federico García Lorca's "La Casa de Bernarda Albs."

Bernarda's Daughters
Through June 4 at the Pershing Square Signature Center, Manhattan; thenewgroup.org. Running time: 1 hour 30 minutes.

This review is supported by Critical Minded, an initiative to invest in the work of cultural critics from historically underrepresented backgrounds.

2 SOCCER

Everton's Premier League spot is kept, but may be lost.

3 PRO BASKETBALL

The Celtics are on the verge of completing a 3-0 escape.

6 AUTO RACING

Max Verstappen and Red Bull continue their dominance over Formula 1.

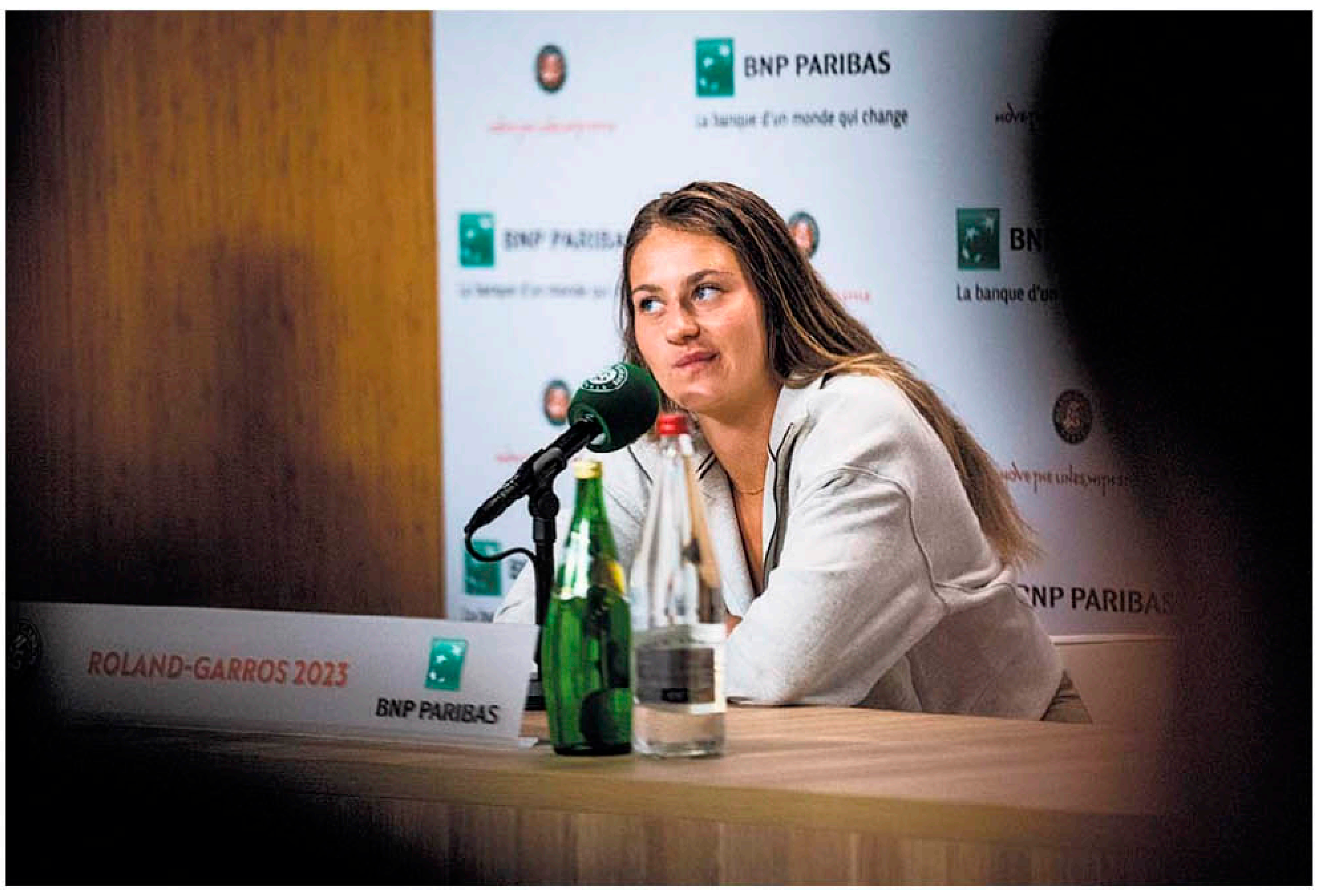
Sports

The New York Times

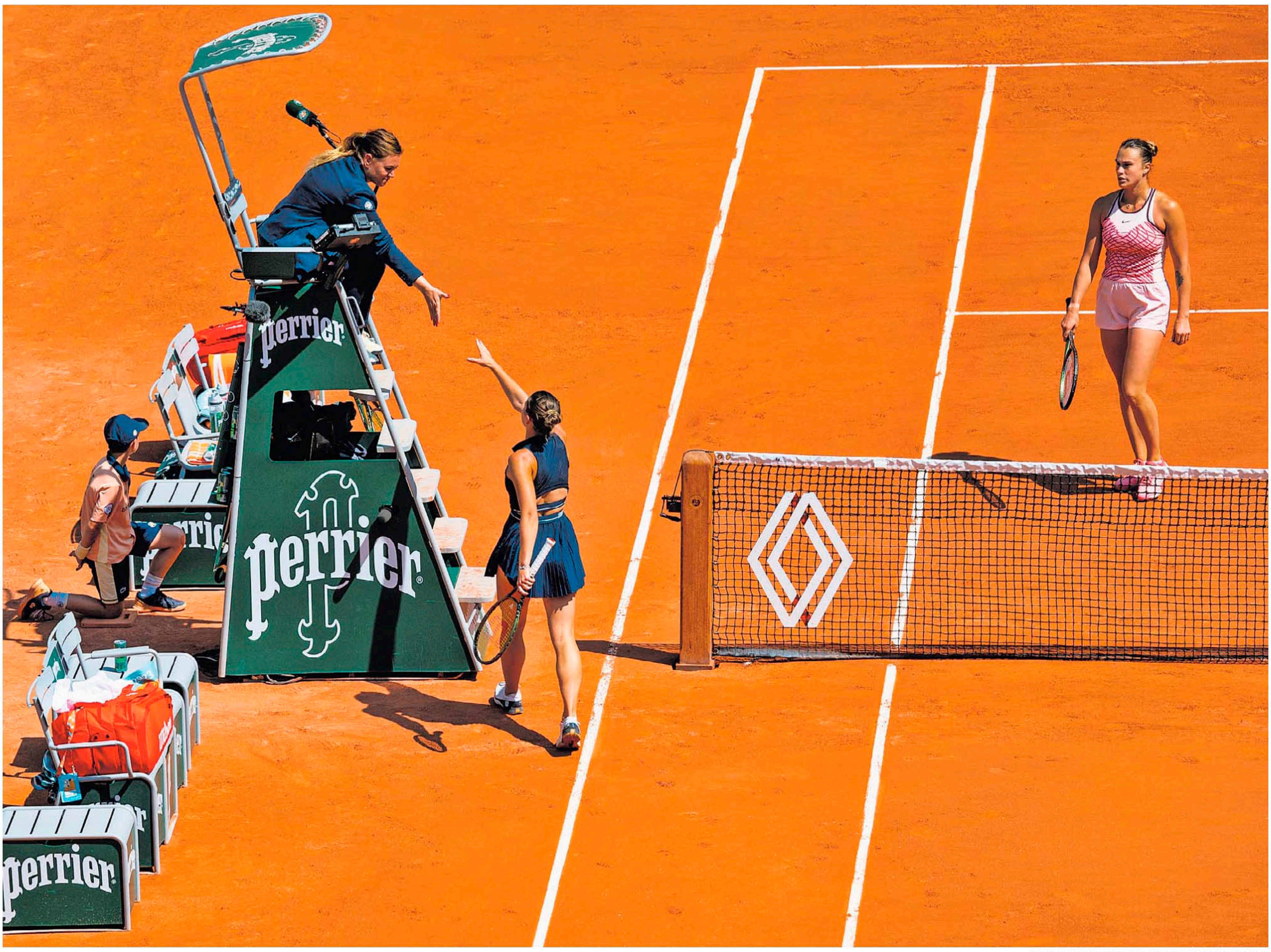
TENNIS | FRENCH OPEN

'I want to see people react to it in 10 years when the war is over. I think they will not feel really nice about what they did.'

MARTA KOSTYUK of Ukraine, right, on the crowd's hostile reaction to her refusing a postmatch handshake.



Marta Kostyuk went to the chair umpire without shaking hands with Aryna Sabalenka of Belarus. Kostyuk won't shake the hand of Russians or Belarusians.



PHOTOGRAPHS BY PETE KIEHART FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

A Handshake Disagreement, Spurred by War

Spectators Boo A Ukrainian Who Snubbed A Belarusian

By MATTHEW FUTTERMAN

PARIS — The moment the women's singles draw for the French Open pitted Aryna Sabalenka of Belarus against Marta Kostyuk of Ukraine in the opening round, there was no doubt the start of the tournament would produce some fireworks.

It did that and more.

The score line showed a decisive 6-3, 6-2 victory for Sabalenka, the reigning Australian Open champion, who is the second seed in Paris and one of the hottest players in the world.

But what did not show up in the score line was the behavior of the morning crowd at Roland Garros's main court, Philippe Chatrier. Spectators urged on Kostyuk at the beginning of the match, and then rained boos on her when she left the court without shaking hands with Sabalenka. Kostyuk has refused to shake the hand of any player from Russia or Belarus.

And then there was Sabalenka, who on Sunday came as close as she ever has to condemning the Russian invasion, in a rare statement of defiance by an athlete from Belarus or Russia.

"Nobody in this world, Russian athletes or Belarusian athletes, support the war. Nobody," Sabalenka said at a news conference after her victory. "How can we support the war? Nobody, normal people, will never support it.

"This is like one plus one, it's two," she continued, saying if she could stop the war, she would. "Unfortunately, it's not in our hands."

But shortly afterward, Kostyuk dismissed Sabalenka's sentiments as empty words.

"I feel like you should ask these players who would they want to win the war, because if you ask this question, I'm not so sure these people will say that they want Ukraine," Kostyuk said.

She added that Sabalenka should speak for herself and not for other players from Russia and Belarus.

"I personally know athletes from tennis that support the war," she said without identifying any.

The effect of the war in Ukraine on tennis has been continual. Fifteen months after Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the war seems to have no end in sight. (Belarus has provided a staging ground for Russian soldiers, and its leader has said

Continued on Page D4

HORSE RACING

Why Breaking a Leg Results in Euthanasia for Most Racehorses

By VICTOR MATHER

There is a lot to enjoy for a new fan introduced to thoroughbred racing. There is the beauty of the animals, the thrill of watching them move and the joyful feeling of outsmarting the other horseplayers and cashing a bet.

But there is a cold fact about the sport that can be hard for fans — and impossible for critics — to accept: Sometimes a horse gets hurt, and sometimes it is euthanized, often right on the track.

Earlier this month, seven horses died at Churchill Downs in the lead-up to the Kentucky Derby, including four that broke down while racing or training. And the victory of National Treasure, trained by Bob Baffert, in the Preakness was clouded by the collapse and euthanasia of another Baffert racehorse earlier in the day at Pimlico Race Course.

People who oppose horse racing on principle often point to such occurrences while making their case. Even for racing fans, the disquieting reality of breakdowns can raise the question: Does something as apparently simple as a broken leg have to lead to a horse dying? The unfortunate answer, veterinarians say, is often yes.

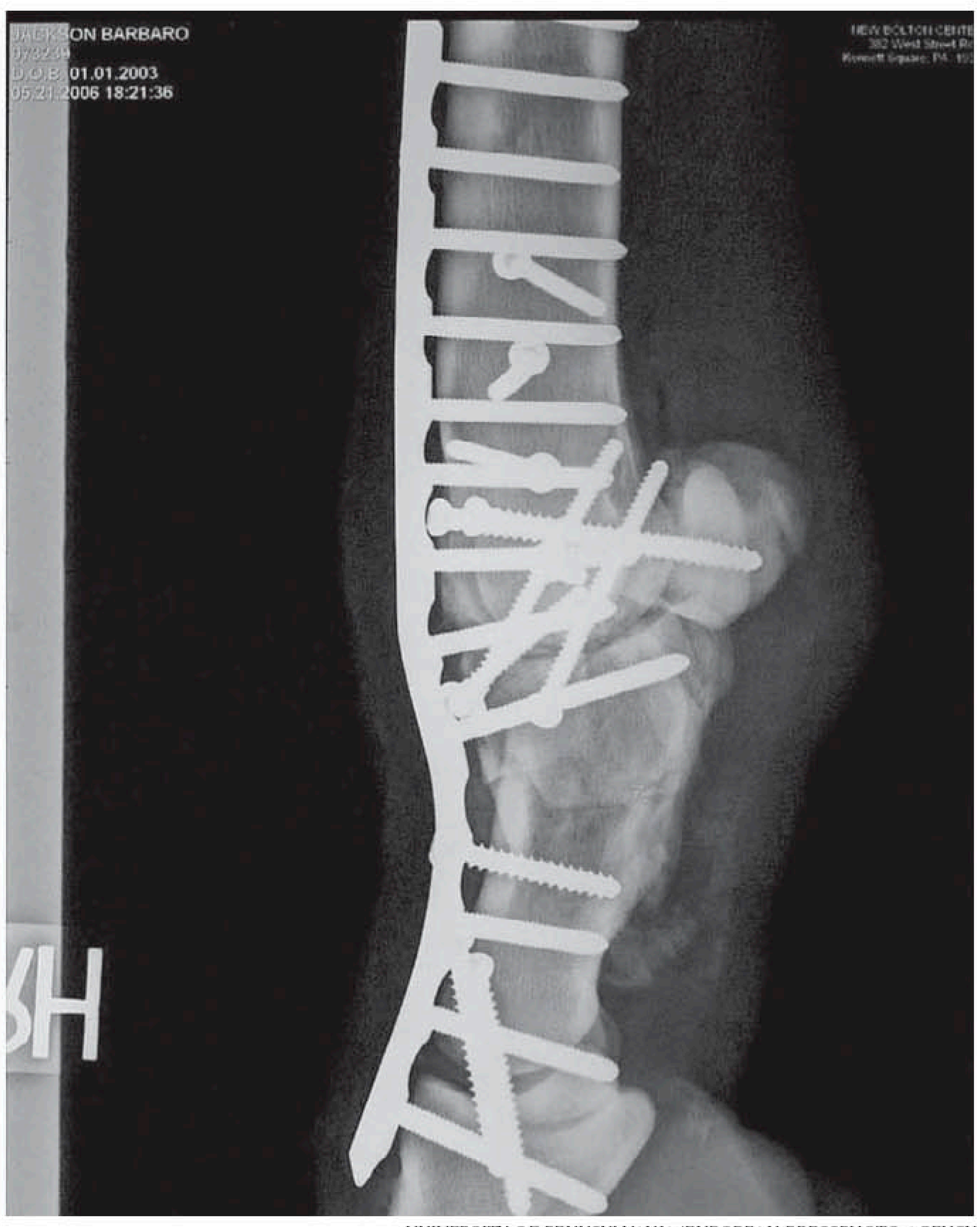
Horses are just different from many animals, even other equines. "They can run really fast," said Dr. Scott E. Palmer, the equine medical director of the New York State Gaming Commission. "And because they weigh about 1,100 pounds, the forces that are acting on their legs are really profound."

Palmer continued: "All their muscles are up high. When you get down into the lower part of the leg, there is literally skin and bones and tendons and blood vessels and nerves. If something breaks, the circulation of the area can be easily compromised by the injury."

As a result, horses are vulnerable to breaking their legs; it happens running on the racetrack, or running in a pasture, or kicking a stall door. The problem is that it is very difficult to heal a broken leg on a horse.

Breaks in horses can also be much more severe than in a human or other mammals, because of their weight and the fragility of their legs. "Because of the high energy impact, the horse can shatter that bone, more than just a simple crack, making repair much less likely," Palmer said.

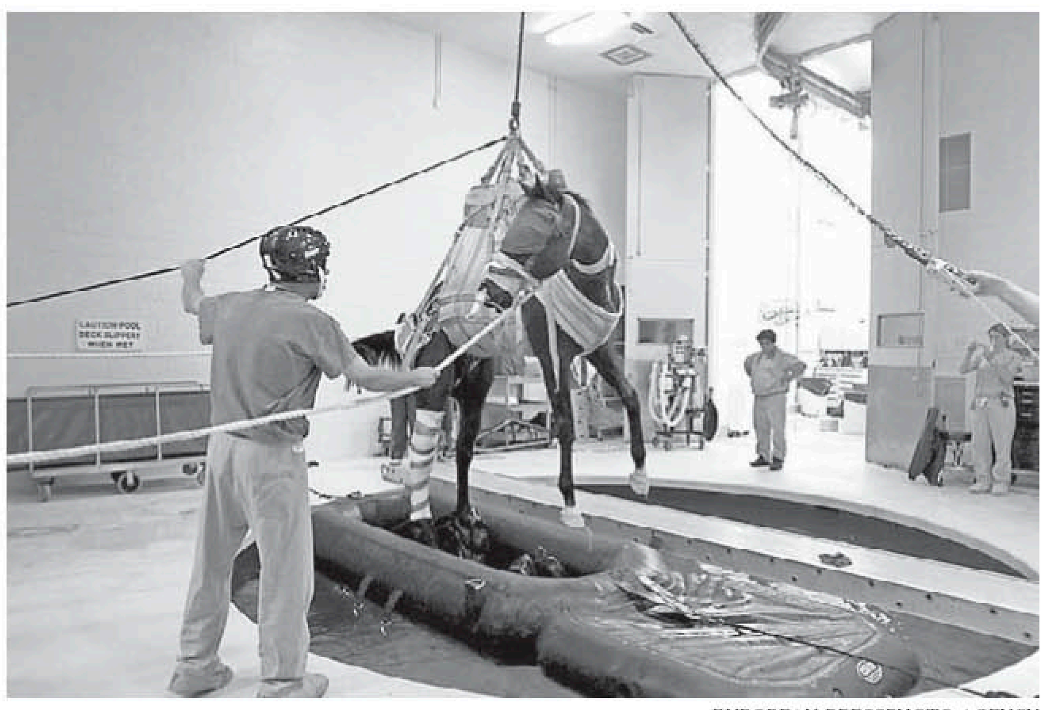
To fix a broken bone on any animal, the break must be immobilized. But immobilizing a horse brings a host of challenges. Horses are restless and skittish. Thoroughbreds are bred to run. Keeping them in one place for an extended period is difficult.



UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA/EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

For racehorses, broken legs are serious because the bones shatter at impact. When Barbaro, the 2006 Kentucky Derby winner, broke his leg in 20 places, his owners opted for an extraordinary surgery to insert 27 pins, but the horse, below right, only lived eight more months. More often, horses are euthanized at the track, as happened to Havnameltdown, below left, before the Preakness this month.

JERRY JACKSON/THE BALTIMORE SUN, VIA ASSOCIATED PRESS



EUROPEAN PRESSPHOTO AGENCY

Horses also spend almost all of their time on four feet, even when sleeping. So all four of their legs bear their weight. If suddenly three legs have to support that weight, the uninjured legs can quickly develop problems.

Most commonly and dangerously, horses can get laminitis, a painful condition that develops in the tissue between the hoof and the bone. "The hoof is attached to the bone by organic fasteners like a Velcro system," Palmer said. "If those little hooks become swollen, they become unhooked. That is impossible to take care of."

The entire treatment experience can bring severe pain for a horse who, of course, cannot understand what is going on the way a human undergoing painful treatment would.

The pain for the horse is consideration "No. 1, No. 2 and No. 3," Palmer said.

Laminitis brings "unbelievable pain," he said. "They cannot stand on that leg. Now you have a horse with a break in one leg and can't stand on a second."

Horses cannot simply lie down for extended periods to avoid putting weight on their legs. Lying down for more than a few hours will cause muscle damage, restricted blood flow and blood pooling in the lungs.

Any elaborate or unusual process to try to repair a badly broken bone can cost thousands of dollars. Few horse owners are willing to spend that kind of money on a painful treatment process that might not work and probably won't get the horse back to the racetrack. Euthanasia is the unfortunate choice most of the time.

When the 2006 Kentucky Derby winner, Barbaro, broke his leg in the Preakness two weeks later, his owners Roy and Gretchen Jackson decided to try to save him.

His injury was serious: The leg bone was broken into 20 pieces. He had five hours of surgery to insert 27 pins and a stainless steel plate.

Palmer was on the scene the day of the injury. "I said: 'The fracture is horrible, but none of the wounds came through the skin. Because of that, I believe that surgery is possible.' I honestly thought that was the very best chance he had for survival."

Two months after his surgery, Barbaro developed laminitis, requiring most of a hoof to be removed. He then had some good months. But the hoof did not grow back properly, leading to another procedure. He got a foot bruise, and more surgery followed. Complications led to laminitis in two more limbs, and Barbaro's distress increased significantly.

"We just reached a point where it was going to be difficult for him to go on without pain," Roy Jackson said. In the end, the extraordinary efforts lengthened his life by only eight months.

"From a purely surgical perspective, it was extremely unsatisfying because he didn't make it," Dr. Dean W. Richardson, the surgeon, said at the time. "Professionally, I think we did the best we could."

The dazzling filly Ruffian in 1975 had 12 hours of surgery after a bad break. Upon waking, she began thrashing around in her stall, causing another break and leading to her euthanasia.

If euthanasia is the only option, the horse is sedated, then a barbiturate solution is administered, generally behind a screen to block the view of spectators.

Strides have been made in the last decades in treating horses, including development of better antibiotics and the aluminum splint and improvements in understanding laminitis.

There have also been improvements in prevention, which, given the horse's unusual anatomy, may be the most promising way to make progress.

After a string of horse deaths at Aqueduct in 2011 and 2012, Palmer and others made recommendations, including improving the racing surface, changing claiming and purse rules and strengthening drug regulation. Those have helped the number of racing deaths come down and stay down.

Palmer has hope for Fitbit-type devices — biometric sensors that can spot horses with gaits that might lead to injury before those injuries happen. A trial at Saratoga Race Course last year was promising, he said.

But the challenge of caring for horses is likely to always remain. Palmer said of the difficulties of surgery: "We have to put a broken leg back together again with screws and plates, and they have to be able to stand on it immediately after surgery. That is an enormous challenge."

SOCCER

Everton Keeps Place in Premier League, Pending Off-Field Events

RORY SMITH

ON SOCCER

LIVERPOOL, England — The announcement rang out around Goodison Park before kickoff, and then again ahead of the second half. In a clear, commanding voice, it informed Everton's fans that they were not, under any circumstances, to invade the field or throw objects at the players on it.

With Everton's long-held place in England's Premier League hanging by a fraying thread, it was reasonable to assume that Sunday afternoon would end in one of two outcomes: ecstasy or outrage. There was no third option. All the final game of the season would decide, really, was which one materialized.

In the end, the former won out. Everton beat Bournemouth, 1-0, on a single, priceless goal by midfielder Abdoulaye Doucouré, rendering the results at Leicester City and Leeds United — the two teams that were hovering, waiting for Sean Dyche's Everton team to slip — irrelevant. Leeds lost, Leicester won; both were relegated anyway. Everton, for the second time in two seasons, clung to its place in the elite by the quicks of its fingernails.

That should, really, have been cause for celebration. There were fans on the field within a couple of seconds of the final whistle ignoring the increasingly desperate pleas of the voice on the public-address system. Flags fluttered at their backs. Plumes of blue smoke trailed from pyrotechnics. Children slid on their knees on the turf.

Relief, though, is not the same as joy. As the fans milled around the field, many drifted as if on autopilot toward the area beneath the directors' box. Its usual occupants, Everton's owners and executives and power brokers, were absent, as they have been since January, when they were advised to stay away for their own security.

Still, this was a chance for the fans to send a message. Loudly, repeatedly, they set aside their glee to demand the removal of the club's board. In what might have been a moment of triumph — or at least something approaching it — the thought of Everton's fans turned almost immediately to revolt.

There is a reason for that. It is not just that the current regime at Goodison Park has brought one of English soccer's great traditional houses low, thanks to a combination of poor planning, reckless spending and good, old-fashioned witlessness.

CARL RECINE/REUTERS

Jordan Pickford, the Everton goalkeeper, after his teammate Abdoulaye Doucouré scored Sunday.

Even Dyche, brought in as a firefighter, seemed determined to point out after the game that survival should not be a source of pride. "There is still massive amounts of work to do," he said, as if preparing the fans for the idea that there is more struggle to come. "This has been going on for two years. It is not a quick fix."

That is true, of course. The ownership of Farhad Moshiri has reduced Everton to days like these — ones filled with fear and jeopardy and dread — with ever-increasing regularity. But more damning, and more urgent, is that the club has been managed so poorly that this game, this win, may be nothing but a stay of execution.

In March, the Premier League charged Everton with failing to comply with its catchily titled Profit and Sustainability rules, the regulations formerly known as Financial Fair Play. From 2018 to 2021, the club recorded losses of almost $460 million, three times more than the amount permitted under the league's protocols.

The case is, slowly, making its way through the league's labyrinthine quasi-judicial system. An independent panel will be appointed to investigate. Representations will be made. Appeals will, doubtless, be lodged. The whole process is dragging to such an extent that even the Premier League itself has suggested it might need to be expedited just a little.

In the end, Everton's punishment might extend beyond being forced to pay compensation to Leeds, Leicester and Southampton, the three teams relegated this season. It could face a points penalty next season. It may even have one retrospectively imposed on this campaign. As things stand, Everton has avoided relegation. But only as things stand.

Regardless of the merits of the case against Everton, the fact that 38 games have been played and the table cannot quite be entered into the records should be a source of considerable embarrassment for the most popular sporting competition on the planet.

The season has ended and the Premier League cannot say, for certain, which 20 teams will comprise its membership next season. Given that there is also an open case against Manchester City, champion for the last three campaigns and on the verge of a domestic and European treble, it is fair to say that everything that has happened over the last 10 months is still subject to change.

The significance of that cannot be underestimated. If the Premier League cannot wrangle its teams to abide by the rules that they themselves have established, then it does not so much have a regulatory issue as a legitimacy one. Sports are, in effect, policed by consent. If that process is seen to be tainted, if the playing field does not appear to be level, then that consent is removed.

More important, those who watch the league — the people who follow it, fund it, afford it a significance that is not inherent — cannot trust that what they are watching has any meaning. If the outcome of a game cannot be known until a legal process has been exhausted, then the game itself becomes secondary.

The club's owners may be hit with a points penalty.

Just after Doucouré's goal, as Goodison Park was fizzing and bouncing and melting in euphoria, a fusillade of fireworks exploded in the sky just above the Gwladys Street Stand. They produced, in truth, more sound than light: Their sparkle and their shimmer was lost, just a little, against the bright sunlight.

Still, each thud elicited a cathartic, ecstatic roar from the crowd, each one signaling a step closer to salvation. The display felt, though, a little premature. There was still a half-hour left in the game. All Bournemouth had to do was score and, with Leicester winning, everything would change.

Everton survived the brush with hubris. It made it to the end unscathed. The whistle blew and the fans stormed the field and the table flashed up on the screen and the team occupied 17th place and sanctuary. And yet there was still a sense of uncertainty, a dull rumble of fear, that things were not yet settled. The fireworks have been set off, even if nobody knows for sure quite what there is to celebrate, not yet.

THE NEW YORK TIMES CLASSIFIED LISTINGS
IN PRINT & ONLINE AT NYTIMES.COM

MARSHAL/ SHERIFF SALES 3650

SHERIFF'S EXECUTION SALE: N.Y.C. Parking Violations Operations, N.Y.S. Department Of Motor Vehicles And/Or The People of the State of New York vs Various Judgment Debtors. I Will Sell At Public Auction By Dennis Alestra, Auctioneer, on Tues., May 30th, 2023 At 10:00 AM. at FIVE J'S BRONX, 4825 Baldwin Street, Bronx, NY 10470. All R/T/I Of the Judgment Debtors In & To the Following Vehicles.

17 TOYT 4T1BF1FK3HU695855
11 CHEV 1G1PF5S99B7271938
03 BMW WBAGN63413DR10736
08 AUDI WAUDF78E28A167438
15 HOND 1HGCR2F34FA147491 Lien
17 BMW WBA8D9C30HA004585 Lien
06 SUBA 4S4WX83C664401561
00 CHEV 1GBFG15W1Y1247367
07 LNDR SALSK25407A990736
02 SUBA JF1SF65582H725029
14 FORD 3FADP4EJ1EM107932
15 KIA KNDJP3A55F7793534 Lien
06 DODG 2B3KA43G76H359115
03 BMW 5UXFA53543LP26604
07 TOYT 4T1BE46K47U672636 Lien
10 DODG 2D4RN5D17AR159570
99 FORD 1FBSS31LXXHB99975
08 INFI JNKBV61F78M275884
08 CHEV 1GCGG25C381158816
06 JEEP 1J4GR48K86C309380
04 VOLV YV1CZ91H541040144
07 HOND 1HGCM56317A053201
08 HOND 5FNRL38238B074547
13 INFI 5N1AL0MM8DC347293
12 TOYT 2T1BU4EEXCC900679 Lien
10 BMW WBAKC8C56ACY68037
07 DODG 1D8HB48N87F512506 Lien
14 FORD 1FADP3E29EL304366 Lien
22 CHEV 2GNAXWEVXN6146483 Lien
05 HOND 1HGCM56135A108632
08 NISS 1N4BL24E78C106172
04 JEEP 1J4GL48K44W161693
08 BMW 5UXFE83598L160078
07 BMW WBAVC73557KP30625
02 CHRY 2C4GP54L32R628929
08 BMW WBANV13588CZ51056 Lien
19 NISS 3N1AB7AP5KY303029 Lien
06 AUDI WAUDF78E76A126736
11 HYUN 5NPEC4AB9BH199396
13 CHEV 1G1PA5SG9D7148026 Lien
14 FIAT ZFBCFADH2EZ006535 Lien
02 TOYT 4T1BF30K22U500372
17 MERZ WDDSJ4607HN424204
09 LEXS 2T2HK31U09C115289
03 CHEV J8BB4B14137003275

Cash Only, Inspect: ½ Hr Prior To Sale
Anthony Miranda, Sheriff

SAM NAVARRO/USA TODAY SPORTS VIA REUTERS CON

Bam Adebayo tried for a rebound over the Celtics' Marcus Smart on Saturday in a game full of missed opportunities for the Heat.

Miami Is in Trouble in Game 7 Against Boston's Escape Artists

SCOTT CACCIOLA

ON PRO BASKETBALL

MIAMI — After the miracle and the madness, Gabe Vincent broke the silence inside the Miami Heat locker room on Saturday night by humming along to "Life Goes On," a ballad by Ed Sheeran featuring Luke Combs.

Most of Vincent's teammates were long gone by then, bound for their Miami-area homes as they faced the collective challenge of figuring out how to rebound from a soul-crushing loss to the Boston Celtics in Game 6 of the Eastern Conference finals.

But back in the locker room, where an oversize image of the N.B.A.'s Larry O'Brien championship trophy is stitched into the carpet and a series of murals depicting the franchise's past triumphs line a tunnel leading to the court, the atmosphere was gloomy. The lyrics of a song about heartbreak hardly helped. They seeped from Vincent's iPhone all tinny and hollow, as if the music were being piped through a radiator:

It hit like a train, I ran out of words;
I got nothing to say, everything hurts.

"Great song," Vincent said.

Nothing about this season has been easy for the Heat, and Vincent hinted that perhaps some poetic justice was at work after the Celtics' 104-103 victory in Game 6, tying the series at three games apiece. Derrick White's astonishing putback at the buzzer — the ball left his fingertips with about one-tenth of a second to spare — had extended the best-of-seven series and the Celtics' season, forcing a Game 7 in Boston on Monday night.

The Heat could not have been closer to securing a spot in the N.B.A. finals against the Denver Nuggets. And then, in an instant, that dream somehow felt very far away.

"It's almost like it's supposed to be this way," Vincent said. "But, you know, go to Boston and get a win."

Vincent, the team's starting point guard, made it sound simple, but this series has been a carnival ride. The Heat won the first three games to put themselves on the cusp of history as they attempted to become just the second No. 8 seed to advance to the N.B.A. finals, joining the 1998-99 Knicks. Now, the Celtics are bidding to become the first team to win an N.B.A. playoff series after trailing by three games to none.

MIKE EHRMANN/GETTY IMAGES

Jimmy Butler, left, looked passive for much of the game but asserted himself late. Marcus Smart, right, put up 21 points.

"This is one hell of a series," Heat Coach Erik Spoelstra said. "At this time right now, I don't know how we are going to get this done, but we are going up there to get it done."

It was a public vote of confidence after a game full of missed opportunities for the Heat. Where to begin? Jimmy Butler and Bam Adebayo, their two best players, combined to shoot 9 of 37 from the field.

Butler, in particular, looked downright passive for much of the game. There he was in the second quarter, handling the ball at the top of the perimeter with the shot clock winding down. But instead of driving, Butler shoved a pass to Duncan Robinson, who had little choice but to hoist a runner from 11 feet that grazed the front of the rim. A few seconds later, the Celtics' Jayson Tatum was at the other end for a layup.

But other plays could haunt the Heat, too. In the fourth quarter, for example, Adebayo grabbed the rim blocking a shot, which was against the rules and led to a 4-point possession for the Celtics.

As a team, the Heat shot 35.5 percent from the field. They missed hook shots and layups, jumpers and floaters. They still had a chance thanks to Caleb Martin, who slid into the starting lineup and scored 21 points, and Butler, who asserted himself late and was fouled attempting a 3-pointer with 3 seconds remaining. He made all three free throws for a 1-point lead.

But all that was prologue to the final sequence — a 3-point attempt by the Celtics' Marcus Smart that rimmed in and out, and White's putback. The Heat's Max Strus had been hedging on Tatum, preventing him from getting the ball, but that left White with an open lane to the basket for the follow.

"I thought we had a lot of things covered on that play," Spoelstra said, "and sometimes things just don't break your way. I don't think there's any regrets on that. It's just a shame."

Butler, who scored 15 of his 24 points in the fourth quarter, shouldered the blame.

"If I play better, we're not even in this position," he said. "And I will be better. That's what makes me smile, because those guys follow my lead. So when I'm playing better, I think we're playing better as a whole."

After finishing the regular season with a 44-38 record, the Heat landed in the play-in tournament and lost their opening game to the Atlanta Hawks. The Heat then trailed the Chicago Bulls by as many as 6 points in the fourth quarter of an elimination game before they went on a game-winning run to narrowly slip into the playoffs.

But something odd was beginning to percolate inside the Heat: The greater the challenge, the better they played. Facing the top-seeded Bucks in the first round, Miami lost two rotation players, Tyler Herro and Victor Oladipo, to long-term injuries, which should have been problematic. But Butler was brilliant as the Heat advanced in five games.

But that version of Butler has been missing as the Heat's three-game series lead has slipped away. He has been passing up shots, hesitating on drives and turning the ball over. In other words, he looks tired from the grind of a long season.

Now, Miami is facing its greatest test yet. Butler said he planned to decompress by playing a late-night game of Spades.

"I'm not going to let our guys quit," he said. "I don't care what nobody says. Everything going to be OK."

For the Celtics, the No. 2 seed, Game 7 is one more chance for them to salvage their season and make good on their pledge to return to the N.B.A. finals, one year after losing to the Golden State Warriors. Tatum has been inconsistent, even in victory, routinely going scoreless for long stretches with his season in jeopardy every night. He scored just 6 of his 31 points in the second half of Saturday's game.

"We're all aware it's not time to celebrate," Tatum said. "We didn't accomplish anything."

It was approaching midnight when Butler called guard Kyle Lowry to his locker for a quiet chat. Vincent had vacated the premises, taking his moody music with him.

At the front of the room, a monitor had exactly one item listed on the team's schedule for Sunday: a 1:30 p.m. flight to Boston.

SAM NAVARRO/USA TODAY SPORTS VIA REUTERS CON

Derrick White, left, astonished teammates like Jayson Tatum with a season-saving buzzer-beater.

Who Has Come Back After Being Down, 3-0?

By VICTOR MATHER

When a team takes a three-games-to-none lead in a best-of-seven series, it is time to start looking ahead to the next round or to a championship parade.

Most of the time.

In the history of sports, a few teams with 3-0 series leads have managed to lose three straight games before recovering. Some of them lost one more game — and the series — as well.

That's the history facing the Miami Heat, who won the first three games of their N.B.A. Eastern Conference finals series against the Boston Celtics, then lost the next three, including Game 6 at home on Saturday night.

Game 7 is Monday night in Boston, and the Heat are 48 minutes away from historical ignominy. No N.B.A. team has ever blown a 3-0 series lead dating to 1947. This year, in the Western Conference finals, the Denver Nuggets took a 3-0 series lead against the Los Angeles Lakers, then finished them off in a four-game sweep.

A collapse after taking a 3-0 series lead has happened in other leagues, though. Let's relive some of those dark moments (for one team in those series anyway).

BARTON SILVERMAN/THE NEW YORK TIMES

The Red Sox and David Ortiz humbled the Yankees in 2004.

Baseball

The most famous 3-0 comeback in sports certainly came in 2004 when the Boston Red Sox stunned their hated rivals, the Yankees, and made Major League Baseball history.

The victory in the American League Championship Series, snatched from the jaws of defeat, came in defiance of the fabled Curse of the Bambino that had supposedly consigned the Red Sox to perpetual defeat after they sold Babe Ruth to the Yankees in 1920.

"This is obviously crushing for us," said Yankees third baseman Alex Rodriguez, a sentiment the Heat may soon be feeling.

The only other time a major league team battled back from 3-0 down, it didn't finish the job. The Tampa Bay Rays raced to a 3-0 series lead in the 2020 A.L.C.S., played at a neutral site in San Diego because of the coronavirus pandemic. The Houston Astros claimed the next three games, but Tampa Bay pulled out a 4-2 victory in the decider before losing the World Series to the Los Angeles Dodgers.

"I don't know if I went to bed," Rays Manager Kevin Cash said about the aftermath of Game 6. "It was tough, there's no doubt. A lot of anxiety."

No team has blown a 3-0 series lead in the World Series, but in the Japan Series, the Nishitetsu Lions came back from 3-0 down to win in 1958 against the Yomiuri Giants and the Giants managed the same feat against the Kintetsu Buffaloes in 1989.

BRIAN SNYDER/REUTERS

In 2010, the Flyers climbed out of a hole against the Bruins.

Hockey

The N.H.L. has treated fans to the most four-game collapses, and one of those came in the Stanley Cup final.

In 1942, the Detroit Red Wings won the first three games, but the Toronto Maple Leafs came roaring back with four straight. The Cup had switched to a best-of-seven format in 1939 and this was the first series to go the distance.

"By Jiminy" was the postgame reaction of the Leafs great Syl Apps.

Four-game comebacks were also achieved in earlier rounds by the Islanders over the Pittsburgh Penguins in 1975, the Philadelphia Flyers over the Boston Bruins in 2010 and the Los Angeles Kings over the San Jose Sharks in 2014.

REBECCA BLACKWELL/ASSOCIATED PRESS

Jimmy Butler, center, and the Heat aim to avoid a meltdown.

Basketball

Although no N.B.A. team has — yet — lost a series it led by 3-0, a few, like this year's Heat, have lost three straight to get to 3-3.

It happened once in the finals, in 1951. The Rochester Royals (now the Sacramento Kings via Cincinnati, Kansas City, Mo., and Omaha) took a 3-0 lead over the Knicks, who rallied with three wins. The final game came down to the last seconds before Bob Davies of the Royals sealed it with two free throws.

It is the one and only championship for the Royals/Kings franchise, in any city. The Knicks would have to wait until 1970 for their first.

A three-game collapse followed by Game 7 redemption was also achieved in earlier rounds by the 1994 Utah Jazz against the Denver Nuggets and the 2003 Dallas Mavericks against the Portland Trail Blazers.

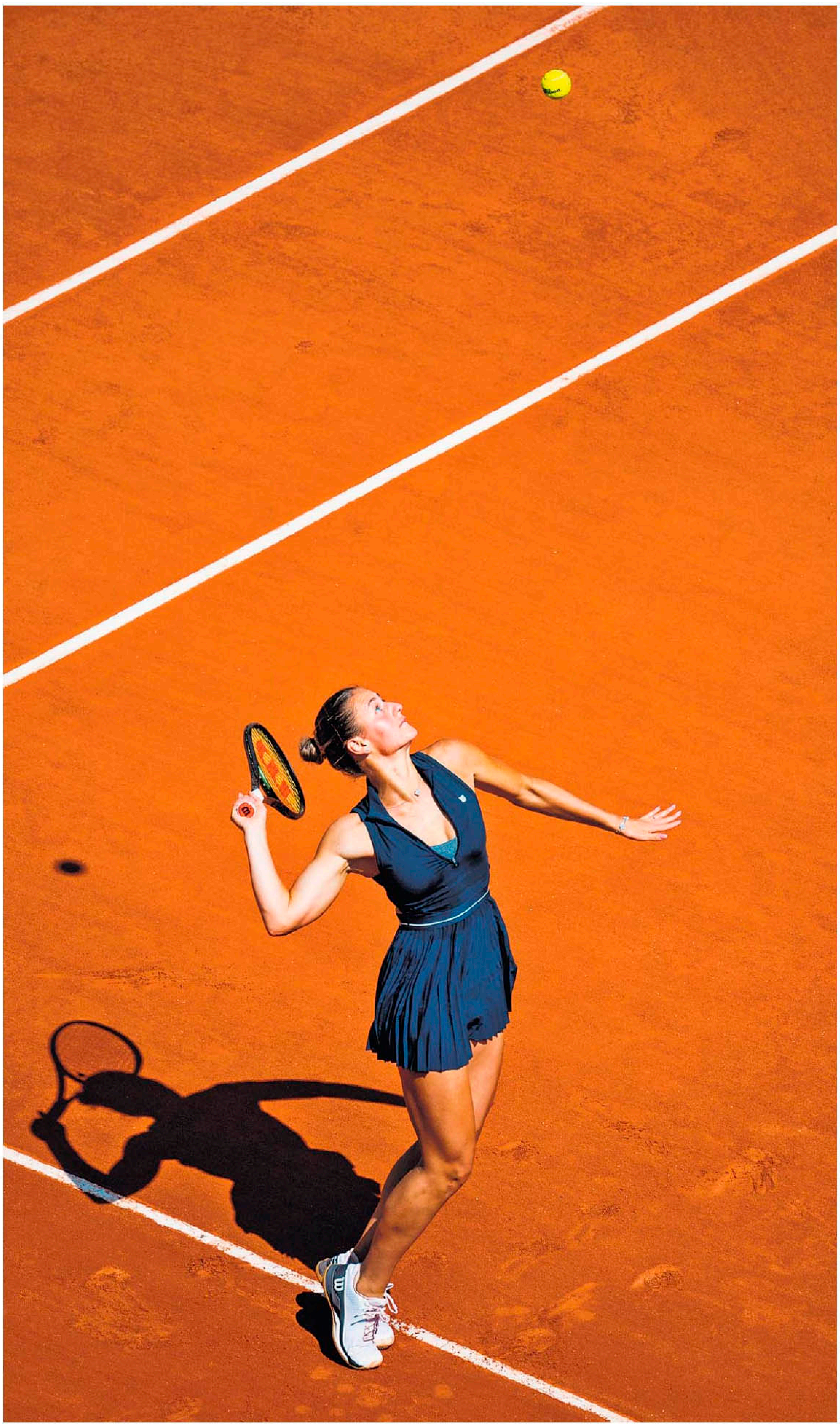
So the full collapse has never happened in the N.B.A. But in all of basketball?

How could you forget the classic Beermen-Aces series?

In the 2016 Philippine Cup final, the Alaska Aces looked set to claim the title after three straight wins. (Their name came from their sponsor, Alaska Milk, not their home base.)

But it was a mistake to count out the reigning champion San Miguel Beermen, who won four straight to do what no N.B.A. team has ever done.

The Celtics will be hoping to match the Beermen on Monday night.



Ukrainian Booed After Not Shaking Belarusian's Hand

From Page D1

the country would join the war if attacked.)

Belarus and Russia have been banned from team tennis competitions, and their flags and country names have been banished from the sport. The moves have left players from Ukraine unsatisfied and players from Russia and Belarus feeling like pariahs.

The tension on Sunday was in stark contrast to the otherwise celebratory feel of the first day of the French Open. It is often one of the most joyous days in tennis, especially with the sky sparkling with that special shade of bright Parisian blue. There is no red like the red of the clay courts of Roland Garros, no crowd that looks as effortlessly elegant as this one: the Panama hats, the silk spring dresses, the aperol spritzes in fancy glasses in seemingly every other hand.

'Nobody in this world, Russian athletes or Belarusian athletes, support the war.'
ARYNA SABALENKA of Belarus

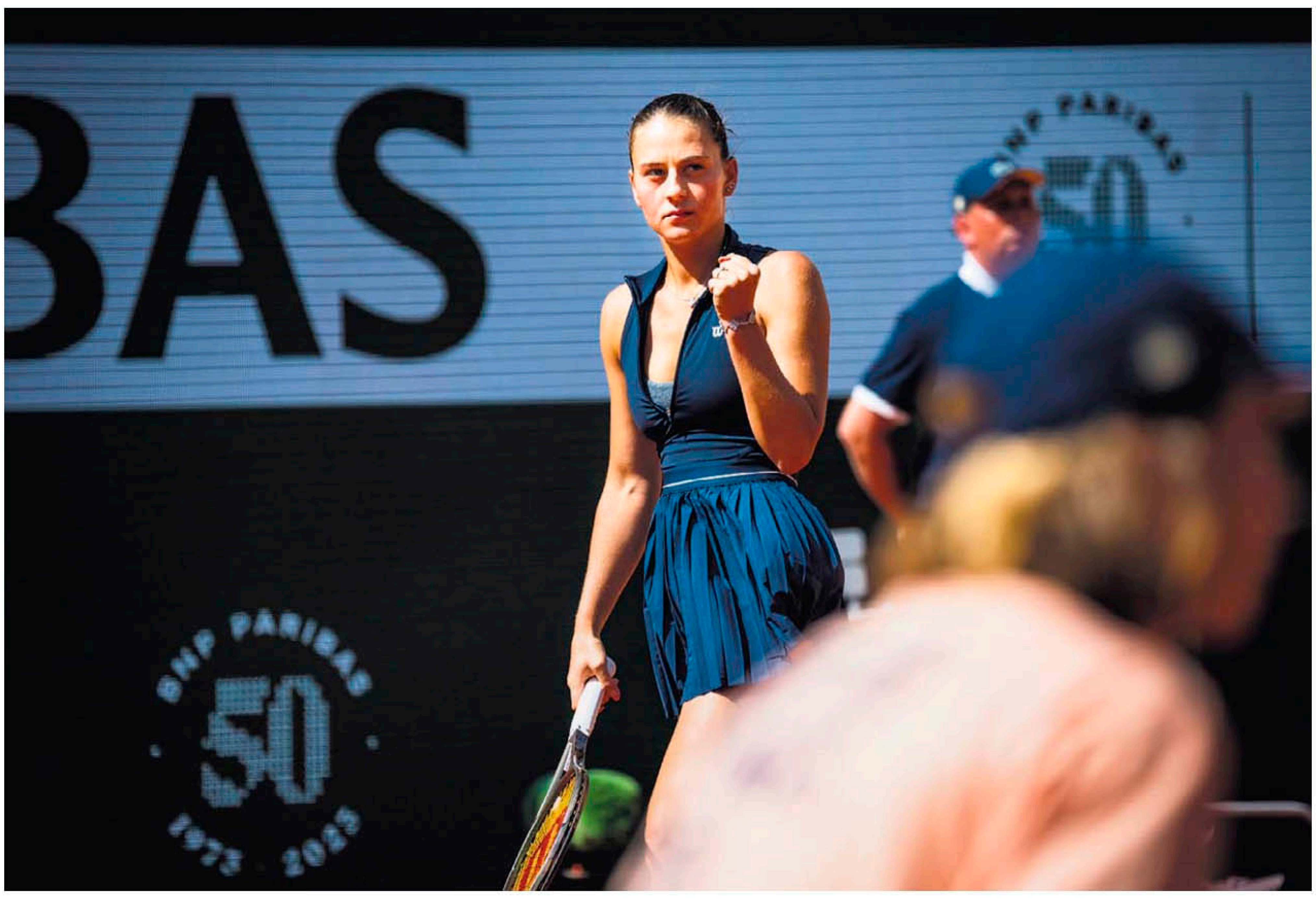
The absence of the injured star Rafael Nadal, whose record 14 men's singles titles have made him synonymous with this event, is weirding everyone out. But as Nadal has said, tennis moves fast and waits for no one. The rousing roars whenever a French player was in action echoed across the grounds as loudly as they ever have.

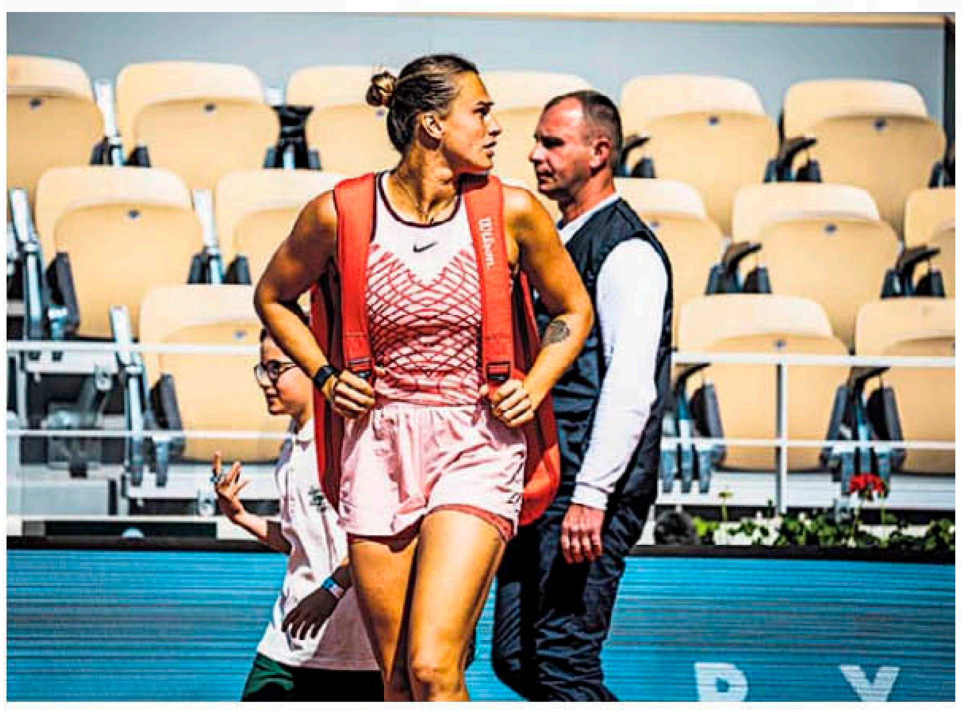
As Kostyuk and Sabalenka made clear, though, the war may very well make this tournament and tennis summer unlike any before it. On Monday, Elina Svitolina, among the most successful players Ukraine has produced, will make her Grand Slam return from maternity leave, against Martina Trevisan of Italy. Anhelina Kalinina of Ukraine, whose grandparents had to leave their home and whose parents' home was bombed, will play Diane Parry of France on Tuesday in her first match after her emotional run to the Italian Open final this month.

"Everyone is in a very different situation," Kostyuk said in an interview on Sunday. "Whoever needs a comfort, I'm always there. We have a very good group."

Kostyuk, though, was the one who seemed to need some comforting in the moments after her match. On the final point, she walked to shake hands with the chair umpire and then directly to her courtside seat. Sabalenka shook hands with the chair umpire, too, and then stood for a moment watching Kostyuk gather her belongings as the restless noise from the crowd began to rise.

Sabalenka said she initially thought the boos were for her, but then realized they were for Kostyuk — undeservedly so, she added, explaining that she understands why the Ukrainian players do not want to be seen shaking hands with a Belarusian or a Russian.



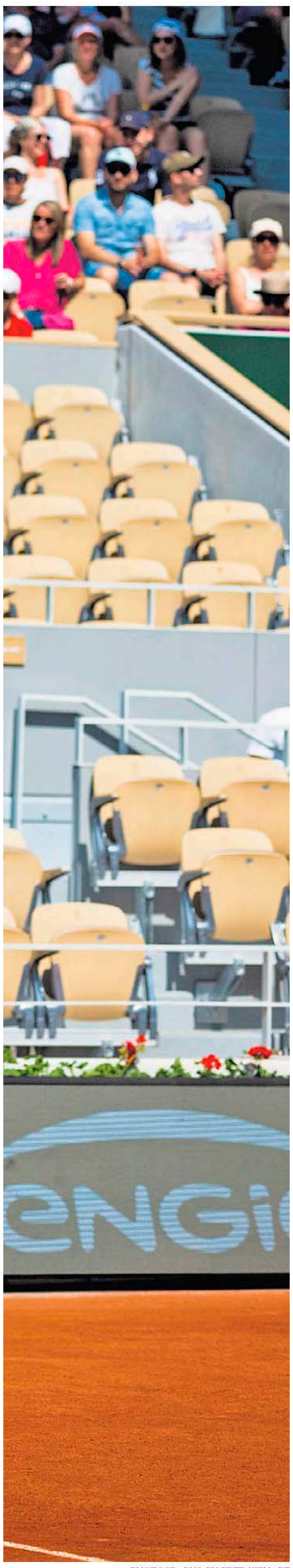


Kostyuk said the booing shook her, compared with the support she had in the U.S. Sabalenka said she understood not getting a handshake.

Kostyuk said she was shaken by the reaction, which was so different from a supportive reception in the United States this year when she refused to shake the hand of a Russian opponent.

"I want to see people react to it in 10 years when the war is over," she said. "I think they will not feel really nice about what they did."

Kostyuk last visited Ukraine in March to see her father and grandfather. She traveled there after the Miami Open. The journey required four flights to get to Poland by way of her temporary



PHOTOGRAPHS BY PETE KIEHART FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

Marta Kostyuk of Ukraine, above left, lost to No. 2 Aryna Sabalenka of Belarus, above, 6-3, 6-2. Sabalenka, the Australian Open champ, first thought the boos were for her.

home in Monte Carlo, a two-and-a-half-hour train ride to the border, and then a six-hour car ride. She spent five days there, struggling to sleep amid the distant sounds of bomb-carrying drones that her relatives have somehow learned to live with. She said she still had not recovered from the trip.

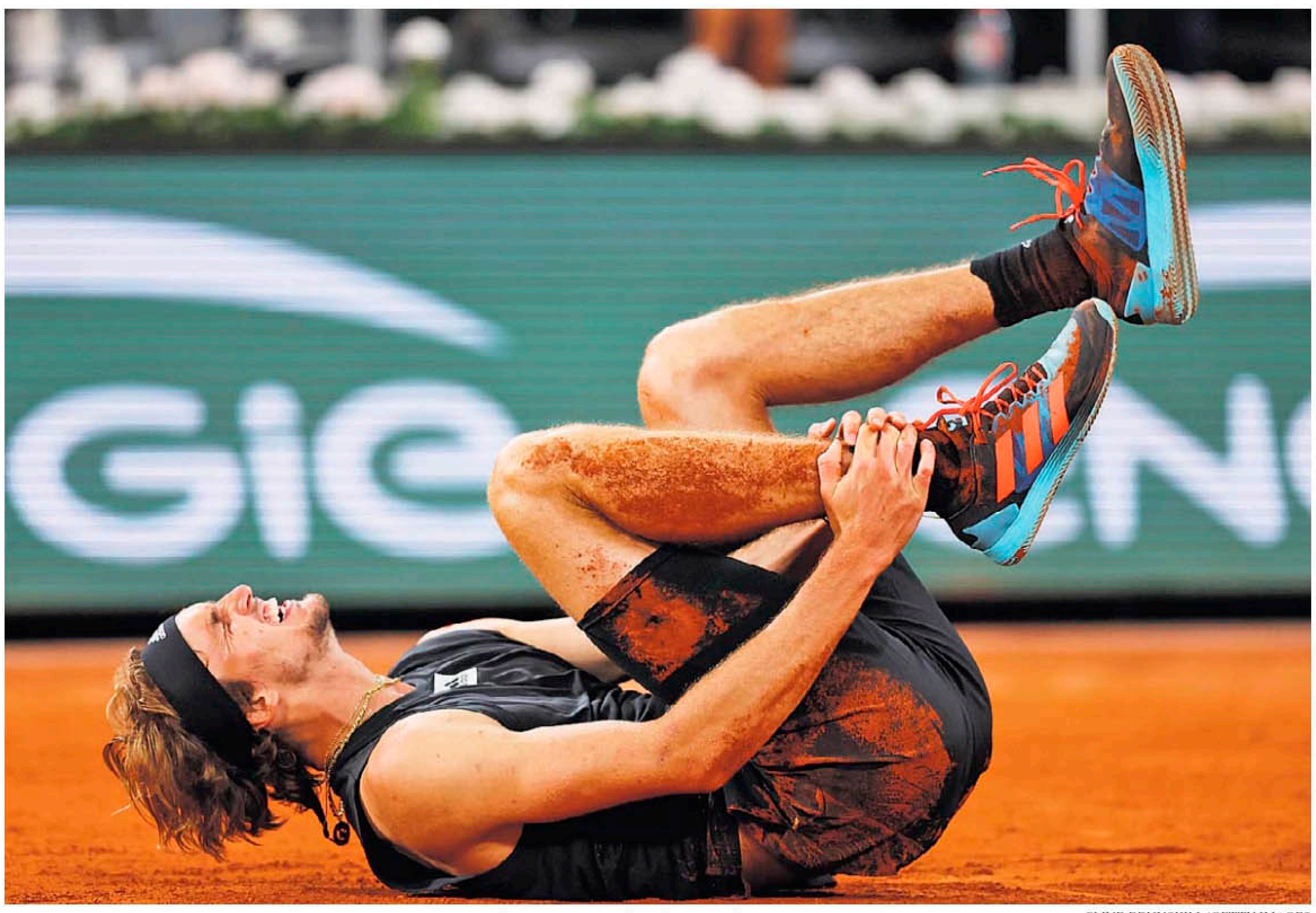
She woke up at 5 a.m. on Sunday and saw a series of alerts on her phone about the latest drone attack on Kyiv, the largest of the war. She said she tried not to look at her phone in the overnight hours, but when she saw all the alerts, she could not stop the urge to see what had happened.

A few hours later, she was at Roland Garros preparing for her match with Sabalenka. To her surprise, she said, for the first time since the start of the war ahead of a match against a Russian or Belarusian, she was not focused on the nationality of her opponent. It was refreshing, she said, and it made her think that a day would come when a war would no longer intrude on her chosen occupation, that every tennis match would be nothing more and nothing less than that.

One day, perhaps, but certainly not Sunday.

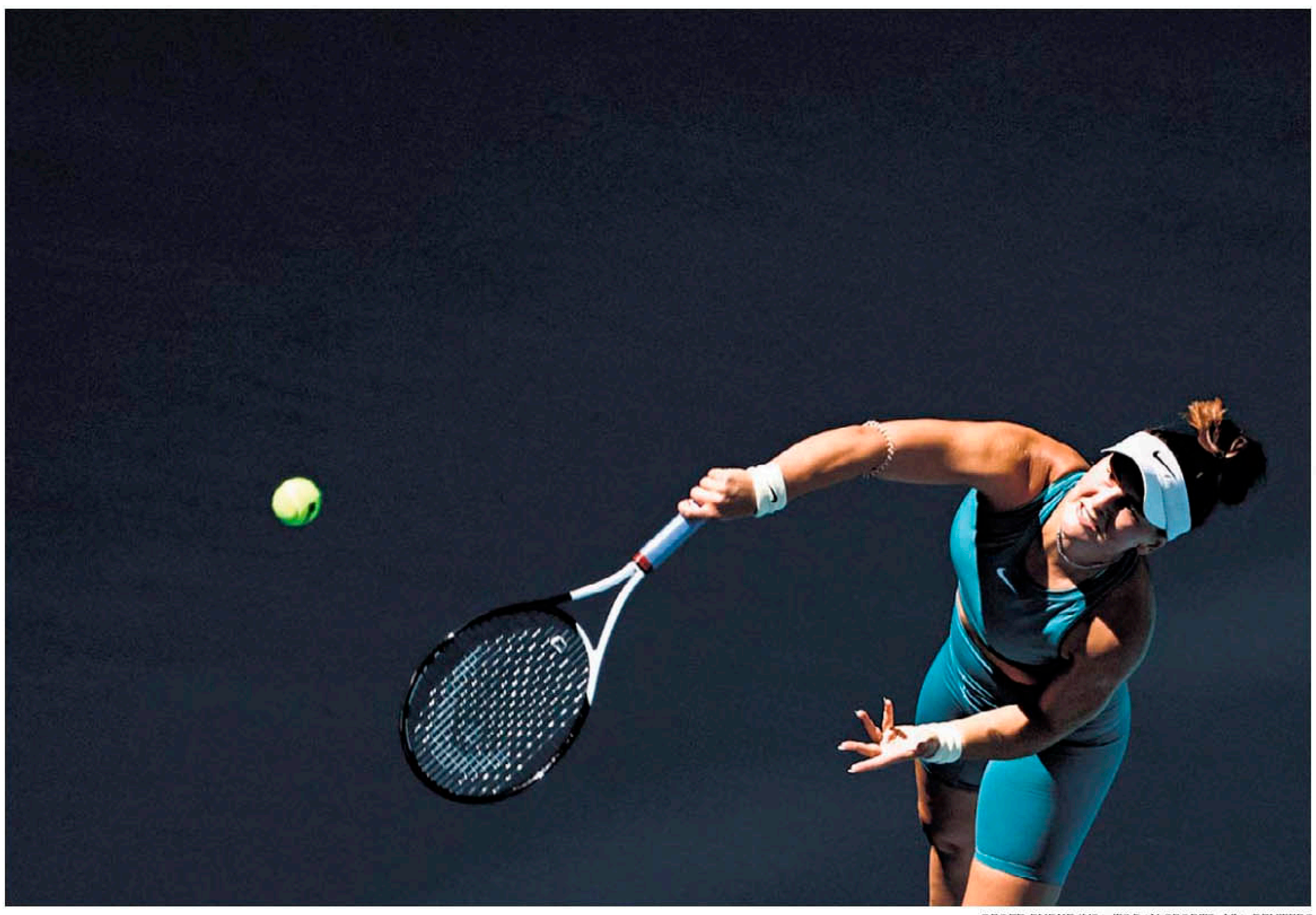
Recovery Is Long and Grueling After Injuries on the Court

By CINDY SHMERLER



CLIVE BRUNSKILL/GETTY IMAGES

Alexander Zverev rolled an ankle at the 2022 French Open and was out for months. “It wasn’t a nice feeling,” he said.



GEOFF BURKE/USA TODAY SPORTS, VIA REUTERS

Bianca Andreescu thought about leaving competitive tennis after hurting her adductor, ankle, foot, back, and shoulder.

KIYOSHI OTA/GETTY IMAGES

Daria Saville tore her anterior cruciate ligament at the Tokyo Olympics. It wasn’t her first injury that required surgery.

It didn’t take long for Alexander Zverev to realize his situation was dire.

After hours of scintillating shot-making, Zverev and Rafael Nadal were set to begin a second tiebreaker in their semifinal match at last year’s French Open.

But suddenly, Zverev ran wide for a forehand, rolled his right ankle on its side and let out a bellow. He stumbled to the ground, red clay caked to the back of his black sleeveless top, and cupped his ankle in his hands.

“I knew immediately that I was done because my ankle was basically three times the size it normally is,” said Zverev by phone of the injury that took him from tennis for the rest of 2022 and dropped his ATP ranking from No. 2 to outside the top 20. “It wasn’t a nice feeling.”

Zverev is hardly the first player to be forced into an extended layoff because of a serious injury.

His opponent that day, Nadal, hasn’t played a tour match since he hurt the psoas muscle between his lower abdomen and upper right leg during the Australian Open in January. After repeated attempts to rehab the injury over the last four months, Nadal — who has also suffered from chronic foot pain, a cracked rib and a torn abdominal muscle in the last 18 months — withdrew from the French Open on May 18. He is the 14-time Roland Garros champion and has played the tournament every year since 2005. He also indicated that he does not plan to play Wimbledon and that 2024 will likely be his last year on the professional tour.

Emma Raducanu, who won the 2021 United States Open, has been frequently injured ever since, and recently underwent surgery on both of her wrists and one ankle. Andy Murray, a Wimbledon and U.S. Open champion, announced before the 2019 Australian Open that he would retire after the tournament, only to come back, first playing doubles, then returning to singles following a successful hip resurfacing surgery.

Bianca Andreescu, who beat Serena Williams to win the 2019 U.S. Open, has suffered injuries to her adductor, ankle,

In addition to rehab, athletes face mental and financial hardships.

foot, back, and right shoulder, causing her to question whether she should stop competing. And Stan Wawrinka, a three-time major champion, contemplated retirement following multiple surgeries on his knee and ankle. Once ranked world No. 3, Wawrinka is now fighting to stay in the top 100.

Injuries, surgery and rehab are dreaded words in any athlete’s vocabulary. For professional tennis players, who are not protected by a team sport’s comprehensive rehabilitation coverage but are instead treated as independent contractors, working their way back onto the ATP and WTA Tours can be grueling physically, mentally and even financially.

“I had never experienced an injury from the time I started, and I played with high intensity every day,” said Dominic Thiem by phone. Thiem, who beat Zverev to win the 2020 U.S. Open, suffered a debilitating wrist injury in June 2021 and was sidelined for months. Once ranked No. 3, Thiem lost seven straight matches when he first returned to the ATP Tour, and his ranking plummeted to No. 352, forcing him to play lower-level Challenger tournaments.

“With an injury, the whole system comes to a stop,” said Thiem, who is now ranked just inside the top 100. “You can’t do your job, and you no longer have a clear plan. After I returned, it was like never before. You have to lower your expectations, but that’s very tough because for all those years you set for yourself a certain standard, not only from the tournaments you play, but also how you feel the ball. Basically, everything changes.”

The process of returning from a layoff can be just as difficult as the injury itself. Readjusting to the rigors of constant travel and the pressure of playing matches at all hours of the day and night, along with worrying about the possibility of reinjury, can impact a player’s recovery.

Andreescu knows that. Plagued by back troubles through much of 2022, she had finally begun to rebound at the Miami Open in March. But during her fourth-round match against Ekaterina Alexandrova, Andreescu tumbled to the court, clutching her left leg and screaming in agony.

“I’ve never felt pain like that,” Andreescu said by phone as she prepared to return to the tour three weeks later in Madrid. “The next morning I knew what happened, but I was just hoping that I was waking up from a bad dream. Then I felt the pain, and I knew this was real.”

Andreescu has rehabbed her body many times before, but she is also convinced that the mind-body connection is just as important.

“I believe that everything starts in the head and that we create our own stress and, in a way, our own injuries,” she said. “There can be freak accidents, but if you can get your mind right, then it’s easier to come back from those injuries.”

The WTA takes injury prevention and rehabilitation seriously. The tour has programming and staff devoted specifically to athletes’ physical and psychological well-being. According to Carole Doherty, the WTA’s senior vice president, sport science and medicine, all its players receive comprehensive medical care, with services that include cardiology, checkups with dermatologists, bone-density exams, and nutrition and hydration advice.

When a WTA player is out injured, or pregnant, for at least eight consecutive weeks, she can apply for a Special Ranking, which means that upon her return she will be ranked where she left off and can enter eight tournaments over a 52-week span with that ranking. The ATP has a similar protocol called Protected Ranking.

Becky Ahlgren Bedics, the WTA’s vice president of mental health and performance, is keenly aware of the psychological toll an injury can take.

“Injuries take you out of training and competition and force you to regroup and prioritize your life differently,” said Bedics, who encourages players who are off the tour to delete WTA rankings from their phones, so they won’t see where they stand as compared with their peers.

“It’s tough for an athlete whose only thought is, ‘How can I get back, and what happens if I don’t?’ ”

Bedics and her mental health team encourage players to manage their expectations upon their return to play.

“There are so many stressors in this game, including financial ones,” Bedics added. “Our athletes are typically very young and not going to be doing this for 50 years. Sometimes they are supporting their families. So, what we help them do is listen to ‘what is,’ not ‘what ifs.’ We want them to look forward, but also to look backward to see how far they’ve come.”

Daria Saville understands the play-for-pay nature of tennis. She has suffered from repeated Achilles’ tendon and plantar fasciitis issues since 2016. She had surgery after the 2021 Australian Open, which kept her from playing for nearly a year. Then, while competing in Tokyo last September, she tore her anterior cruciate ligament, requiring more surgery.

“Every time I get injured, I think about my life and wonder what it will be like without tennis,” said Saville, who also had ACL surgery in 2013. “On tour, life is not so hard. Everything is done for you, so you don’t have to overthink. The worst thing that happens is you play bad and lose a match.”

Fortunately, for Saville, the financial burdens have been lessened by the support she receives from her national federation, Tennis Australia, which pays for her physiotherapist and strength and conditioning coaches. She also gets pep talks from her coach, the former tour player Nicole Pratt.

When Thiem thinks back on his wrist injury, he connects the dots to when he won the U.S. Open. Having achieved that goal, Thiem said, he suddenly lost his passion and motivation to play, prompting him to practice with a decreased level of intensity, ultimately leading to the injury. Trying to come back has been difficult.

“I can’t forget,” Thiem said, “that all the time when I didn’t play, the other players were playing, they were practicing and improving and moving ahead of me. That makes it even harder to come back.”

AUTO RACING

PETER FOX/GETTY IMAGES

The Circuit de Monaco, one of the most treacherous stops in Formula 1 in the best of situations, became even more difficult when wet conditions made tires lose their grip and teams scramble to adjust.

MONACO GRAND PRIX

Rain Falls, but Verstappen's Dominance Is Not Dampened

By ANDREW DAS and JOSH KATZ

The Circuit de Monaco is one of the most iconic stops on Formula 1's schedule, but it is also one of its most treacherous. A hairpin descent. Walls close enough to kiss. A dark tunnel that ejects drivers into a burst of blinding sunlight.

And that's on a good day.

Sunday was not a good day: When rain started to fall during the Monaco Grand Prix and tires started to lose their grip, the conditions deteriorated so quickly that even the most seasoned teams might have been filled with trepidation.

But Max Verstappen is not the average driver. While others struggled, he simply sped away, claiming his fourth victory of the season and the 39th of his career. It was his second win at Monaco in three years, and it extended his lead, and Red Bull's, in the season points standings.

"It was incredibly slippery," Verstappen said of managing the conditions, the first rain of the current Formula 1 season. "When you are that far in the lead, you don't want to push too hard, but also you don't want to lose too much time."

"We clipped the walls a few times — it was superdifficult out there — but that's Monaco."

Fernando Alonso of Aston Martin finished the race where he started it, in second place, and Alpine's Esteban Ocon did the same to claim a satisfying third. But neither was a serious challenger to Verstappen in a race that lasted nearly two hours as the speedy cars sometimes slowed to a crawl as drivers tried to hold their nerve.

PETER FOX/GETTY IMAGES

After his 39th career win, Max Verstappen faced his Red Bull team, which remained unbeaten.

Race Results

DRIVER	TEAM	TIME	GRID	STOPS	POINTS
1 Max Verstappen	Red Bull	1:48:51.98	1	1	**25**
2 Fernando Alonso	Aston Martin	+27.92	2	2	**18**
3 Esteban Ocon	Alpine	+36.99	3	2	**15**
4 Lewis Hamilton	Mercedez	+39.06	5	2	**13**
5 George Russell	Mercedes	+56.28	8	1	**10**
6 Charles Leclerc	Ferrari	+1:01.89	6	2	**8**
7 Pierre Gasly	Alpine	+1:02.36	7	2	**6**
8 Carlos Sainz	Ferrari	+1:03.39	4	2	**4**
9 Lando Norris	McLaren	+1 lap	10	2	**2**
10 Oscar Piastri	McLaren	+1 lap	11	1	**1**

Source: formula1.com

Where the Race Turned

Rain, which had been on everyone's radar for the first half of the race finally arrived around Lap 50, and that set off a frantic series of pit stops and tire changes for the leaders. The problem was that it was not raining on every sector of the track initially, so tires that were fine on dry pavement suddenly became unmanageable where it was slick.

That produced frantic scenes and different decisions. Alonso, running second, pitted twice in quick succession after his team initially put on the wrong type of tires. Ferrari called its two cars into the pit at the same time to make changes. Other drivers lost vision and then control.

The combination of tight turns, close quarters and slick tires created dozens of nervy moments. Ferrari's Carlos Sainz Jr. glided into a barrier. Kevin Magnussen lost control of his Haas but escaped serious damage. Lance Stroll was not as lucky; he was forced out of the race when his Aston Martin could not go on after a late-race mishap.

Through it all, though, Verstappen kept his calm and his team made the right calls. He emerged from the chaotic few laps right where he was where he had been when the race began, when the rain began, when the changes began: in the lead.

JEFF PACHOUD/AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE — GETTY IMAGES

Esteban Ocon gave Alpine its first podium finish of the year.

Best Days, Ranked

VERSTAPPEN He was masterly in his strategy and race management, even if he could not help himself in the late going. Leading by more than 20 seconds, he gave his team one final scare when he brushed the barriers.

But on a day when so much could have gone wrong, that too went right for him and Red Bull. His advantage over his teammate Sergio Pérez, who started last after a crash in qualifying and crept home 16th on Sunday, grew to 39 points, and to 51 over Alonso in third.

OCON His third-place finish in qualifying was a surprise to some, and his podium finish may be more of one. But he and Alpine managed their car and their position well all day, and were rewarded with the team's first podium finish of the year.

MERCEDES Lewis Hamilton and George Russell quietly came home fourth and fifth. And though neither was ever in contention for the lead (or, really, for the podium), Mercedes will find hope in those performances. While Monaco's tight quarters did not offer the best laboratory to test the improvements the team rolled out last week, Mercedes will leave with points and a trove of valuable data. For a team trying to catch up to its rivals in a hurry, that's a win.

Season in Review

MARCH 5 Bahrain Grand Prix. *Winner:* Max Verstappen

MARCH 19 Saudi Arabian Grand Prix. *Winner:* Sergio Pérez

APRIL 2 Australian Grand Prix. *Winner:* Max Verstappen

APRIL 30 Azerbaijan Grand Prix. *Winner:* Sergio Pérez

MAY 7 Miami Grand Prix. *Winner:* Max Verstappen

MAY 21 Emilia-Romagna Grand Prix. *Canceled.*

MAY 28 Monaco Grand Prix. *Winner:* Max Verstappen

Next Race

JUNE 4 Spanish Grand Prix, Circuit de Barcelona-Catalunya.

STEPHANE MAHE/REUTERS

Many spectators in the prosperous principality of Monaco needed only to step outside.

Newgarden Overtakes Ericsson to Win Indy 500

By The Associated Press

Josef Newgarden finally captured his long-awaited Indianapolis 500 on Sunday and gave team owner Roger Penske his 19th victory and first since buying Indianapolis Motor Speedway, making an audacious pass of defending race winner Marcus Ericsson during a frantic 2.5-mile sprint to the finish.

After the race was red-flagged for the third time in the closing laps, Newgarden was moved from fourth to second by race control. The two-time IndyCar champion, who had been 0 for 11 in "The Greatest Spectacle in Racing," took advantage of it by slingshotting around Ericsson on the restart and holding him off through the last two turns for the win.

Newgarden brought his Chevrolet-powered car to a stop on the front stretch, jumped out and found a hole in the fence, diving into part of a crowd estimated at more than 300,000 to celebrate.

"I'm just so thankful to be here. I started out as a fan in the crowd, and this place is amazing," Newgarden said after pouring a bottle of whole milk over his head. "Everyone kept asking why I hadn't won this race, and they look at you like you're a failure if you haven't won it. I knew I was capable. I knew I could."

What was on pace to be the fastest Indy 500 in history ended with three red flags in the final 16 laps.

The first came for a crash involving Felix Rosenqvist and Kyle Kirkwood, who were near the front of the lead pack. Kirkwood's car went upside down into the catch fence, beginning a terrifying, spark-filled ride through the short chute.

One of Kirkwood's wheels sailed over the fencing and narrowly cleared the packed grandstand. The wheel did not injure anyone but damaged a parked car, a spokesman for Indianapolis Motor Speedway, Alex Damron, wrote in an email. One person was treated at the infield care center and released because of other debris from the crash, the spokesman added.

Livia Albeck-Ripka contributed reporting.

George Maharis, 94, Heartthrob of '60s TV On 'Route 66,' Is Dead

By ANITA GATES and ALEX TRAUB

George Maharis, the ruggedly handsome New York-born stage actor who went on to become a 1960s television heartthrob as a star of the series "Route 66," died on Wednesday at his home in Beverly Hills, Calif. He was 94.

His longtime friend and caretaker, Marc Bahan, confirmed his death.

Mr. Maharis's greatest fame arose from the role of Buz Murdock, one of two young men who traveled the country in a Corvette convertible, finding a new adventure and drama (and usually a new young woman) each week on CBS's "Route 66."

In a 2012 reappraisal of the show, the New York Times critic

Taking Off Broadway roles before starring in a CBS series about adventure on the road.

and reporter Neil Genzlinger praised the literary quality of the scripts and commented, "This half-century-old black-and-white television series tackled issues that seem very 21st century."

Several actors who went on to greater renown appeared on the show, including Martin Sheen, Robert Redford, Robert Duvall and Barbara Eden.

"Route 66" began in 1960, and Mr. Maharis left the show in 1963. His co-star, Martin Milner, got a new partner, played by Glenn Corbett, and the series continued for one more season.

Mr. Maharis attributed his departure to health reasons (he was suffering from hepatitis), but Karen Blocher, an author and blogger who interviewed Mr. Maharis and other principal figures on the show, wrote in 2006 that the story was more complex.

Herbert B. Leonard, the show's executive producer, "thought he'd hired a young hunk for the show, a hip, sexy man and good actor that all the girls would go for," Ms. Blocher wrote. "This was all true of Maharis, but not the whole story, as Leonard discovered to his anger and dismay. George was gay, it turned out."

Ms. Blocher attributed Mr. Maharis's departure to a number of factors. "The producers felt betrayed and duped when they learned of Maharis's sexual orientation, and never trusted him again," she wrote, adding, "Maharis, for his part, started to feel that he was carrying the show and going unappreciated."

Mr. Maharis was arrested in 1967 on charges of "lewd conduct" and in 1974 on charges of "sex perversion" for cruising in men's bathrooms.

He did not discuss his sexuality in interviews, but he proudly described being the July 1973 nude centerfold in Playgirl magazine to Esquire in 2017.

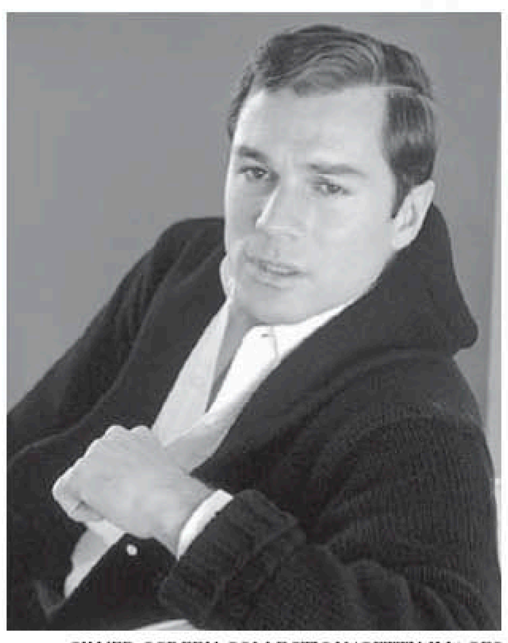
"A lot of guys came up to me," he said, "and asked me to sign it for their 'wives.'"

Mr. Maharis had done well-received work in theater before becoming a television star. In 1958 he played a killer in an Off Broadway production of Jean Genet's "Deathwatch." Writing in The New York Times, Louis Calta described Mr. Maharis's performance as "correctly volatile, harsh, soft and cunning."

Two years later, Mr. Maharis appeared in Edward Albee's "Zoo Story" in its Off Broadway production at the Provincetown Playhouse. That year he was one of 12 young actors given the Theater World Award. The other winners included Warren Beatty, Jane Fonda, Patty Duke and Carol Burnett. In 1962, he received an Emmy Award nomination for his work on "Route 66."

In 1963, Mr. Maharis told a writer for The Times that he treated the TV series like a job in summer stock theater.

CBS PHOTO ARCHIVE/GETTY IMAGES



SILVER SCREEN COLLECTION/GETTY IMAGES

George Maharis, above left, and Martin Milner in 1960 with their Corvette from "Route 66." Mr. Maharis received an Emmy nomination for his role as Buz Murdock. Left, the actor in the 1960s.

"The series taught me how to maintain my integrity and not be sucked in by compromise," he said.

George Maharis was born in the Astoria section of Queens on Sept. 1, 1928, the son of a Greek restaurateur. He attended Flushing High School and later served in the Marines.

Before succeeding as an actor, he told interviewers, he had worked as a mechanic, a dance instructor and a short-order cook. But he had aspired to a singing career first, and after he became a television star he recorded albums including "George Maharis Sings!," "Portrait in Music" and "Just Turn Me Loose!" At least one single, "Teach Me Tonight," became a hit.

After leaving "Route 66," Mr. Maharis appeared in feature films including "Sylvia," with Carroll Baker, and "The Satan Bug," a science-fiction drama (both 1965). He tried series television again in 1970 as the star of an ABC whodunit "The Most Deadly Game," with Ralph Bellamy and Yvette Mimieux, but the show lasted only three months.

In the 1970s and early '80s, he made guest appearances on other television series, including "Police Story," "The Bionic Woman" and "Fantasy Island." He did occasional television films, including a poorly reviewed 1976 "Rosemary's Baby" sequel. He worked infrequently in the 1980s and made his final screen appearance in a supporting role in "Doppelganger," a 1993 horror film starring Drew Barrymore.

Information about his survivors was not immediately available.

Because of his filming schedule when the shows aired, Mr. Maharis did not have a chance to watch "Route 66" until it was rereleased on DVD in 2007, he told the website Route 66 News that year.

"I was really surprised how strong they were," he said. "For the first time, I could see what other people had seen."

In an interview the same year with The Chicago Sun-Times, he reflected on his "Route 66" days and on how the country had changed since then. "You could go from one town to the next, maybe 80 miles away, and it was a totally different world," he said. "Now you can go 3,000 miles and one town is the same as the next."

Ingrid Haebler, Pianist With a Mastery of Mozart

By NEIL GENZLINGER

Ingrid Haebler, a pianist who drew particular acclaim for her performances and recordings of the works of Mozart, impressing critics while still in her 20s with elegant interpretations that set her apart from other musicians of her day, died on May 14. She was believed to be 96.

Decca Classics, which last year released "Ingrid Haebler: The Philips Legacy," a boxed set of dozens of recordings she made for the Philips label, posted news of her death on Facebook. The Austrian newspaper The Salzburger Nachrichten reported her death, attributing the information to her circle of friends, but did not say where she died.

Ms. Haebler was born in Vienna, probably on June 20, 1926 (some news reports said 1929). Her father was a baron. Her mother played piano and began teaching Ingrid when she was a young child; she gave her first public performance at 11. They lived in Poland when Ingrid was young but settled in Austria in the late 1930s.

Christopher F. Schuetze contributed reporting.

An elegant touch in concerts and on dozens of recordings.

As a teenager, she wrote poetry and dabbled in composing. But at 19 she decided to focus fully on piano — "I had to kill a lot of my interests," she told The Sydney Morning Herald of Australia in 1964. She trained at the Salzburg Mozarteum in Austria and in the early 1950s began earning accolades at European piano competitions. By 1954, recordings she made for Vox with the Pro Musica Symphony of Vienna were drawing notice in the United States.

"A delicate — but not finicky, to make the distinction — articulation of Mozart that is uncommon today is the way Ingrid Haebler plays the A major (K. 414) and B-flat major (K. 595) Piano Concertos," Cyrus Durgin, a music critic for The Boston Globe, wrote in August 1954, reviewing one of those records. "You will always find people (including musicians) defending or attacking this manner, but it does meet Mozart's requirement that his keyboard music 'flow like oil and water.'"

That same year she performed as a soloist in England with the Royal Philharmonic Orchestra. Mozart was her calling card, but she proved an adept interpreter of other composers as well, as she did in 1956 when she played a program of Mozart, Haydn and Schubert at Wigmore Hall in London. She "captured and held spellbound her audience," The Daily Telegraph of Britain wrote.

By 1958, The Bristol Evening Post reported, her stature was such that, at the Bath Festival, she felt free to reject the Steinway that was provided to her during the practice session and sent the organizers scrambling to find another piano.

At that festival, she further showed that there was more to her than Mozart. She played Beethoven's Piano Concerto No. 1 and impressed The Daily Telegraph of Britain. "Without ever invoking a spurious foresight of the Beethoven that was to come," the newspaper wrote, "she placed the work in the 18th century, yet across the gulf that already separated him from Mozart."

In October 1959 she made her American debut in Minneapolis with the Minneapolis Symphony, playing the Mozart Piano Concerto in B-flat.

"The acclaim of the audience brought the pianist back to the stage five times," Ross Parmenter wrote in a review in The New York Times, "and the members of the orchestra joined in the applause."

Ms. Haebler, who was a baroness but did not use the title, was still impressing audiences with her Mozart interpretations in 1976, when, at Hunter College, she played her first New York recital, augmenting her program with works by Schubert and Debussy but shining as usual on the Mozart selections.

BNA PHOTOGRAPHIC, VIA ALAMY

Ingrid Haebler with a Mozart impersonator in 1966. She drew acclaim while in her 20s. A boxed set, left, was released last year.

"This was cloudless, untroubled Mozart," Donal Henahan wrote in a review in The Times, "in line with the last century's view of him as a miraculously blessed child."

Ms. Haebler continued to tour until early in this century. On her numerous recordings, many of them for Philips, she covered a range of composers, but again it was often the Mozart recordings that stood out. Reviewing her recording of Mozart sonatas in 1990 for The Kingston Whig-Standard of Ontario, the critic Richard Perry zeroed in on what made her refreshingly different.

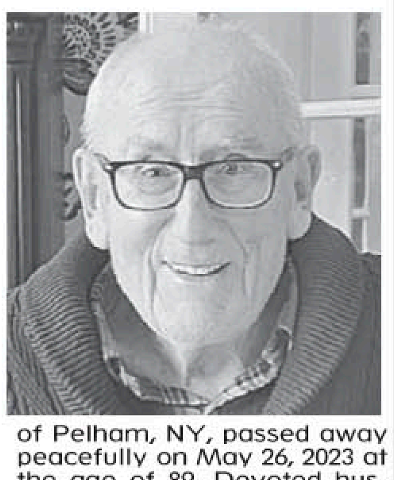
"In a concert world rife with pianists of dazzling technique who seemed forced by competition and cavernous concert halls to demonstrate their mettle at every turn," he wrote, "the poise and simplicity of Ms. Haebler's Mozart is a rare treat."

Information on Ms. Haebler's survivors was not immediately available.

Deaths

Buckley, Robert
Evans, Ben
Gluck, Sanford
Rockmore, Ronald

BUCKLEY—Robert Henry,



of Pelham, NY, passed away peacefully on May 26, 2023 at the age of 89. Devoted husband of Mimi Buckley (deceased). Loving father to Jeanne Sclafani (Mark), of Pleasantville, NY, Waite Buckley (Maria) of Pelham, NY, Katie Stevens (John) of Pelham, NY, and Timothy Buckley of Oakton, VA. Survived by his siblings Marie Louise McCormack, Elinor Buckley, Elsie Kilvert and Gerard Buckley. Predeceased by his brothers Charles, Richard, and Peter and his sister Jeanne Feeney. Born on June 28, 1933 in Brooklyn, NY, to Charles and Louise Ganss Buckley. Bob attended Brooklyn Prep before heading to the University of Miami '55 where he captained the men's swim team. Upon graduation, Bob joined the US Navy serving on the USS Stone County, playing on their water polo team, continuing to serve in the Naval Reserves, retiring as a Lieutenant Commander. In 1961, he married the love of his life, Mimi Buckley (Buckingham) in Flint, MI. In 1965, in New York, Bob began a 48-year career as a sales executive working for Heede Hoist, Regional Scaffolding, and Safway Atlantic until his retirement in 2013. Enthusiastic golfer, paddle tennis player at Pelham Country Club and New York Athletic Club. Longtime sports fan to the New York Giants, Miami Hurricanes and his grandchildren's many sporting events. Grandpa "Bobbob" will be missed by his four children; seven grandchildren, Sarah, Erin, Brian, Harrison, Julia, Riley, and Meghan; two great-grandchildren, Paul and Patrick; and many nieces, nephews, and cousins. Visitation Wednesday, May 31, 2023 4-8 pm at Pelham Funeral Home, Pelham, NY. Mass of Christian Burial at 10am Thursday, June 1 at Our Lady of Perpetual Help Church, Pelham Manor, NY. In lieu of flowers, contributions may be made PelhamPreservationSociety. com c/o Mimi Buckley Scholarship.

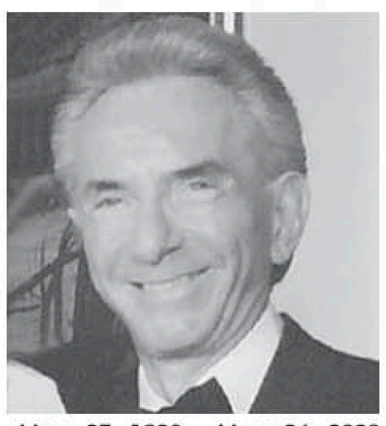
EVANS—Ben.

The Board of Governors and members of Rockrimmon Country Club are profoundly saddened by the passing of their beloved friend and esteemed member. Mr. Evans was a member of Rockrimmon for 37 years and was deeply involved in our Club; he served as a President from 2000-2002. We extend our heartfelt sympathy to Bobbe and to all members of the Evans Family.

William M. Aron, President

Deaths

GLUCK—Sanford Oliver.



May 27, 1928 - May 26, 2023. Sanford (Sandy) Oliver Gluck, beloved father, grandfather, and brother, passed peacefully in the early morning hours on Friday, May 26, 2023. He was born in New York City on May 27, 1928 to Joseph and Lena (Meyer) and raised in Manhattan with his brother, Morton. Sandy attended college and graduated from North Carolina State, serving shortly afterwards in the U. S. Army during the Korean conflict. Upon his return, he met the love of his life, Carole Tick, and they were happily married for 68 years. Together they traveled extensively, loved going to the theater, enjoyed dinners out with friends and summered on the beach in Remsenberg, New York, with family. Sandy was a devoted father to his three children, Mitchell (Holly), Leslie and Stacy, and loving grandfather to his four grandsons, Jordan, Justin, Alec (Emily) and Zachary. Sandy was the epitome of of a true New Yorker. He worked in the garment industry for many decades and enjoyed walking the city, supporting the performing arts and shopping at Zabar's every weekend. He was involved with Cohen Children's Medical Center (formerly Schneider Children's Hospital) and volunteered his time to many other philanthropic organizations. His life will be celebrated with a graveside burial on Tuesday, May 30 at 2:45 p.m. at Mt. Carmel Cemetery, Glendale.

ROCKMORE—Ronald Marshall.

We mourn the passing of Dr. Ronald Marshall Rockmore (August 10, 1930 - May 23, 2023). Ron was born in New York City to Nathan and Bess Rockmore, each of them the children of immigrants from Ukraine. Ron grew up on Long Island and then in Crown Heights and graduated from Samuel J. Tilden High School. A love of mathematics and nature led him first to a degree in mathematics from Brooklyn College and then a Ph.D. in physics from Columbia University, under the direction of Robert Serber, perhaps best known as J. Robert Oppenheimer's righthand man on the Manhattan Project. He accomplished this while caring for his parents and brother, a disabled war veteran. Ron went on to a productive career in academia and physics research as a theoretical physicist spending the majority of his career at Rutgers University with frequent visits to international labs and schools for physics research (Los Alamos, Aspen, Brookhaven, Trieste, CERN, and Saclay). Ron was known for his careful work describing and predicting the results of subatomic particle interactions and was especially proud of an early result referenced at least once by others as "The Rockmore Theorem." Retirement was filled with travel, painting, drawing, and regular outings in New York City to the opera, symphony, and ballet. But the achievement he was most proud of was his family. He is predeceased by his wife Miriam, with whom he enjoyed 59 years of marriage, full of travel and culture. He was a doting father to his sons Adam and Daniel and their wives Alicia and Ellen, and a loving Grandpa to Lucy, Alex, Shayna, and Rachel. He will be missed for his fierce loyalty, sharp mind, keen wit, and boisterous laugh. Ron believed that anyone in need deserved a hand and would have welcomed a gift you gave in his honor to a Jewish charity that works in that spirit. May his memory be for a blessing.

In Memoriam

SAUNDERS—Tom

As Irving Berlin wrote, "The song is ended, but the melody lingers on". I miss you and will always love you.

Jordan

In Memoriam

STORCH—George D.

Dec. 26, 1921-May 23, 2012

Survivor of the Holocaust. Eluded Nazi capture by escaping to Russia and Uzbekistan. Decorated and twice wounded Lieutenant, 1st Polish Army under Marshal Konstantin Rokossovsky during World War II. In our thoughts and hearts every day for the past 11 years. Your guidance, humor and love are missed by your adoring family.

Oliver Storch & Family

ANNOUNCEMENTS OF DEATHS MAY BE TELEPHONED FROM WITHIN NYC TO 212-556-3900; OR OUTSIDE NYC TOLL FREE 1-800-458-5522; OR SENT BY EMAIL TO NYTIMES@CLASSIFIEDSPLUS.COM FOR THE FOLLOWING EDITIONS: Until 4:00 PM the day before for Tuesday through Saturday editions, until 4:00 PM on Friday for Sunday's national edition, until 12:45 PM Saturday for Sunday's New York and late national editions, until 2:00 PM Sunday for Monday's editions. Photos must be submitted by noon the day prior to publication Tuesday through Friday. Photos for Saturday, Sunday and Monday must be submitted by 12 noon on Friday.

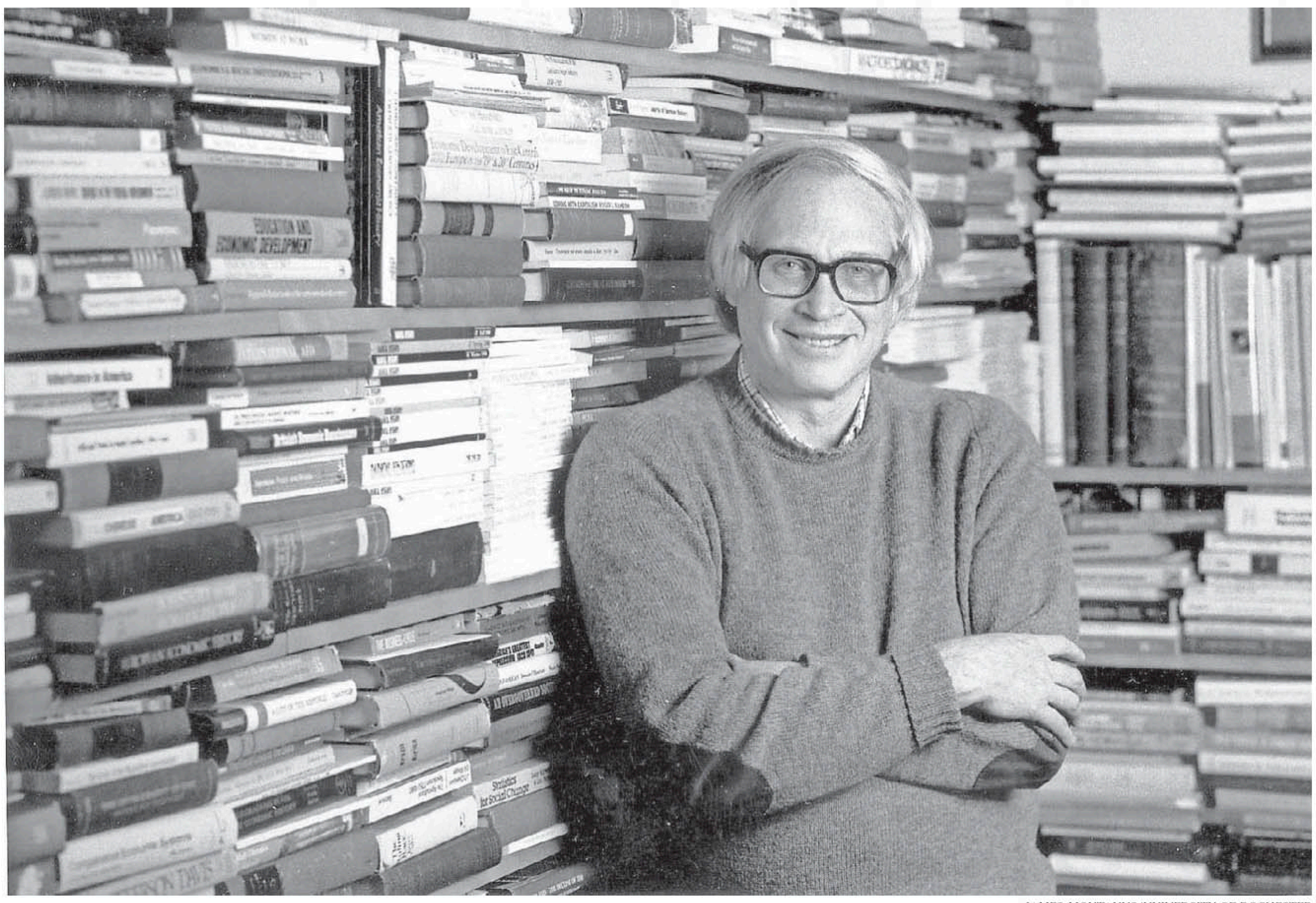
T | Store

Support The Times. Make a difference.

nytimes.com/store

Stanley Engerman, 87, Scholar Who Disputed Views on Slavery, Dies

By RICHARD SANDOMIR



JAMES MONTANUS/UNIVERSITY OF ROCHESTER

Stanley Engerman in an undated photo. He argued that American slavery, while shameful, was a rational, viable economic system.

Stanley Engerman, one of the authors of a deeply researched book that, wading into the fraught history of American slavery, argued that it was a rational, viable economic system and that enslaved Black people were more efficient workers than free white people in the North, died on May 11 in Watertown, Mass. He was 87.

His son David said the cause was myelodysplastic syndrome, a rare form of blood and bone marrow cancer.

In their two-volume "Time on the Cross: The Economics of American Negro Slavery" (1974), Professor Engerman and Professor Robert W. Fogel used data analysis to challenge what they called common characterizations of slavery, including that it was unprofitable, inefficient and pervasively abusive.

Provoking contentious debate by analyzing economic efficiency.

They said they were not defending slavery. "If any aspect of the American past evokes a sense of shame," they wrote, it's the system of slavery." But much of the accepted wisdom about it, they said, was distorted, or just plain wrong.

"Slave agriculture was not inefficient compared with free agriculture," they wrote. "Economies of large-scale operation, effective management and intensive utilization of labor made Southern slave agriculture 35 percent more efficient than the Northern system of family farming."

They insisted that the typical slave "was not lazy, inept and unproductive" but rather "was harder working and more efficient than his white counterpart." They contended that the destruction of the Black family through slave breeding and sexual exploitation was a myth, and that it was in the economic interest of plantation owners to encourage the stability of enslaved families.

They also wrote that some slaves received positive incentives, such as being elevated to overseers of work gangs, to increase their productivity.

The book attracted a lot of attention, including a rave review by the economist Peter Passell in The New York Times. "If a more important book about American history has been published in the last decade, I don't know about it," he wrote, describing the work as a corrective, "a jarring attack on the methods and conclusions of traditional scholarship" on slavery.

Not every review was as kind. Thomas L. Haskell, writing in The New York Review of Books in 1975 about three books that challenged its findings, called it "severely flawed." Some historians criticized its relatively benign portrayal of slave life.

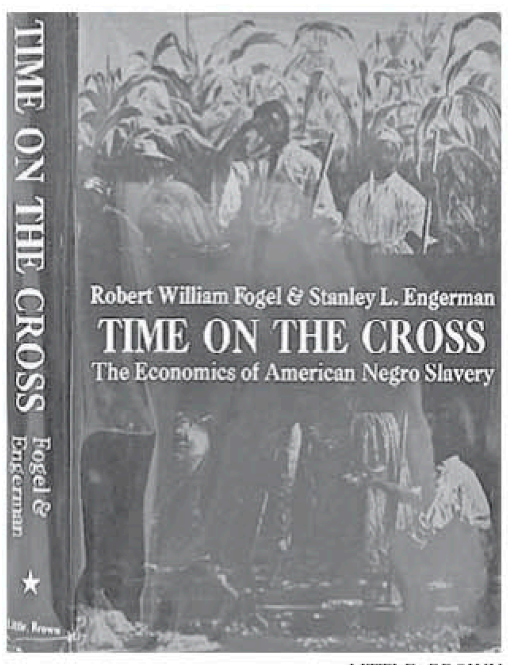
"We thought there'd be a lot of discussion within the history profession for a while, but the public reaction is something else," Professor Engerman told The Democrat and Chronicle of Rochester in May 1974.

When he and Professor Fogel, a scholar who would share the Nobel in economic sciences with Douglass C. North in 1993, appeared on the "Today" show, Kenneth Clark, the prominent Black sociologist, accused them of portraying slavery "as a benign form of oppression."

And in an article in The New York Times Magazine, the novelist Toni Morrison seized on their finding that slaves were not lazy. "No Black person who ever looked at the economic growth of the 19th-century American South," she wrote, "ever doubted that slaves were efficient. What is interesting is that such a conclusion is now necessary to convince white people."

Several months after "Time on the Cross" was published, about 100 historians, economists and sociologists gathered for a three-day conference to discuss the book at the University of Rochester, where Professor Engerman and Professor Fogel taught.

The debate was so contentious that The Democrat and Chronicle described it as "scholarly warfare." Some of the criticism focused on the two men's emphasis on statistics over the brutal realities of slavery.



LITTLE, BROWN

His 1974 book with Robert W. Fogel received both praise and criticism from historians.

"They deny the slave his voice, his initiative and his humanity," the historian Kenneth M. Stampp said at the conference. "They reject the untidy world in which masters and slaves, with their rational and irrational perceptions, survived as best they could, and replace it with a model of a tidy, rational world that never was."

But the Marxist historian Eugene D. Genovese, whose own book about slavery, "Roll, Jordan Roll: The World the Slave Made," was also published in 1974, called "Time on the Cross" an "important work" that had "broken open a lot of questions about issues that were swept under the rug before."

"Time on the Cross" was one of the winners of the prestigious Bancroft Prize for history from Columbia University in 1975, but not without controversy: Some of the school's trustees disagreed with the choice because, a university spokesman said, the authors' conclusions were "based on new methods of data analysis."

In a 1989 edition of their book, the authors acknowledged that they had been remiss in not being clearer about the evils of enslavement; they should have, they wrote, provided a "new moral indictment of slavery."

Stanley Lewis Engerman was born on March 14, 1936, in Brooklyn. His father, Irving, was a wholesale furniture salesman, and his mother, Edith (Kaplan) Engerman, was a homemaker.

He received bachelor's and master's degrees in accounting from New York University in 1956 and 1958 before earning a Ph.D. in political economy from Johns Hopkins University in 1962. After teaching economics for a year at Yale, he joined the University of Rochester in 1963. He was a professor of economics there, and later also of history, until he retired in 2017.

In 1980, he received a Guggenheim fellowship to study free and unfree labor in the 18th and 19th centuries.

In addition to his son David, Professor Engerman is survived by two other sons, Mark and Jeff; a sister, Natalie Mayrsohn; and six grandchildren. His wife Judith (Rader) Engerman, died in 2019.

Professor Engerman's interest in the economics of slavery was stoked by an article he read in a 1958 issue of The Journal of Political Economy when he was in graduate school. The article, by Alfred Conrad and John Meyer, concluded, among other things, that the slave economy was profitable, and it cast doubt on the notion that the South had been forced into an unnecessary war to protect an unsound economic system.

After completing "Time on the Cross," Professor Engerman continued to write about slavery, in the United States and around the world, as well as colonialism and economic growth in the New World. His book "Slavery, Emancipation & Freedom" (2007) examined the rise of slavery, its global history and emancipation in the United States and in other countries.

John Joseph Wallis, who teaches American economic history at the University of Maryland, said that "Time on the Cross" was essential to a full understanding of slavery.

"It's a different perspective on how we think of slavery," he said in a phone interview. "Not that it was good, but if you want to think about the Black experience under slavery, you have to think about it in a different way."

1903-1966

Sultan Khan

A chess champion, he beat some of the world's top players despite having little access to books and different rules.

By DYLAN LOEB McCLAIN

SMITH ARCHIVE/ALAMY STOCK PHOTO

Sultan Khan, right, playing against Theodore Henry Tylor at the British Chess Championship in 1932. After a match in 1935, Khan stopped competing.

ANL/SHUTTERSTOCK

Khan in 1933. José Raúl Capablanca, a former world champion, described him as a genius.

ONLINE: OVERLOOKED

Overlooked is a series of obituaries about remarkable people whose deaths, beginning in 1851, went unreported in The Times.

nytimes.com/overlooked

In July 1929, 12 chess players gathered at Chatham House School, a venerable institution in Ramsgate, England, to contest the British championship. The field included several well-known masters, as well as one player who stood out from the rest because he was not from England, but from the jewel of the British Empire: India.

His name was Sultan Khan.

It is doubtful that the other competitors knew much about him, and they probably did not regard him as much of a threat. At the time, Europe was the center of the chess world, and though Khan had won the All-India Championship the year before, it was most likely against an inferior level of competition compared with what he would face in the upcoming tournament.

In addition, there were differences in the rules of chess played on the subcontinent. For example, pawns could not move two squares on their first turn, and there was no similar rule for castling. Instead, on one move during the game, the king could move like a knight. The need to adjust to how the game was played in Europe gave Khan a significant handicap, particularly in the early phase of games.

Growing up in India under British rule, Khan also had little or no access to chess books, so he knew next to nothing about the theory of how to begin games — knowledge that his rivals possessed.

None of that stopped him. Khan won the championship convincingly, recording victories in more than half his games while losing only once. This marked the beginning of a whirlwind period of four years in which Khan competed against the world's best players and more than held his own.

Despite his first name, Khan was not royalty. According to a 2020 article by Ather Sultan, his oldest son, and Atiyab Sultan, one of his granddaughters, written for the Pakistani news site Dawn, Khan was born in 1903 (some other sources say 1905) in Khushab, a town in the Punjab region of modern-day Pakistan. His family were landowners and pirs, or Sufi religious guides.

Khan learned to play chess from his father, Mian Nizam Din, when he was young, and he was the best player in Punjab by the time he was 21. A wealthy landowner, Sir Umar Hayat Khan Tiwana, hired him to develop a chess team, for which he received a monthly stipend and room and board. When Sir Umar went to live in London in 1929 so he could attend the Round Table Conferences for parliamentary* reform in India, Khan went with him.

Sitting at a chess table, Khan cut a striking figure with his lean face, wide forehead and sharp eyes. He often wore a white turban. He was unperturbable, almost disconcertingly so. Regardless of the position on the board, his demeanor remained placid. He did not think that he had any special skill at chess but felt that "the player applying the greater concentration should win," David Hooper and Kenneth Whyld wrote in their book "The Oxford Companion to Chess" (1984).

After his triumph at the British championship, Khan briefly returned to India, but he was back in England by May 1930 and began receiving invitations to compete in elite tournaments. He soon proved to be among the best players in the world.

He tied for fourth in a tournament in Scarborough, England, in June and July 1930 that included, in addition to the top English players, five of the strongest players from the European continent.

He then represented England as its top player in the third Chess Olympiad in Hamburg, Germany, a gathering of the top teams from the top chess countries in the world. Khan scored nine wins against four losses and four draws.

After Hamburg, Khan competed in Liège, Belgium, in an invitation-only tournament with some of Europe's top players. This time, he took second, behind Savielly Tartakower of Poland. A few months later, Khan beat Tartakower in a 12-game match.

At an annual elite tournament in Hastings in late 1930 and early 1931, Khan finished third behind Max Euwe, who would become world champion in 1935, and José Raúl Capablanca, a former world champion who was still considered by many to be the world's best player. During the competition, Khan caused a sensation by beating Capablanca, slowly outplaying him in a style reminiscent of Capablanca himself.

At the 1931 Chess Olympiad in Prague, Khan again led the English team and again had an outstanding result, with eight wins, seven draws and two losses. His victories included wins against Akiba Rubinstein and Salomon Flohr, two of the top 10 players in the world, and among his draws were games against Alexander Alekhine, the reigning world champion, and Efim Bogolyubov, who had twice played Alekhine for the title.

Khan failed to defend the British title in 1931, finishing in a tie for second, and ended the year by placing fourth at the 1931-32 Hastings tournament.

In 1932, he tied for third in a tournament in London that included Alekhine, Flohr and Tartakower. After narrowly losing a match to Flohr, Khan played in the Cambridge Premier League and beat most of Britain's best players, including Conel Hugh O'Donel Alexander, the Irish cryptologist who would go on to work with Alan Turing during World War II to crack the German Enigma machine.

Khan wrapped up the year by placing fourth in a tournament in Bern, Switzerland, that included Alekhine, Euwe, Flohr and Bogoljubov; winning the British Championship for the second time; and tying for third at the 1932-33 Hastings tournament.

Khan's last competitive year, 1933, was much slower. The only major events he participated in were the Olympiad in Folkestone, England, again as England's top player, and the British championship, at which he won the title for the third time.

In December 1933, Sir Umar decided to return to India, and Khan returned with him, as it was too expensive to stay. Khan was evidently happy to leave England. He disliked the cold, rainy weather and had suffered bouts of malaria and continual colds and sore throats. Ghulam Fatima, a chess player who worked for Sir Umar in his household in London and who won the British women's championship in 1933, told Hooper and Whyld for their book that Khan, on leaving England, "felt that he had been freed from prison."

Back in India, Khan played one match in 1935, against V.K. Khadilkar, beating him soundly by winning nine games and drawing one.

And that was it. He stopped playing, at least in competitions.

In a short documentary that aired on British television in the late 1970s, Ather Sultan said that he had once asked his father why he had not tried to play for the world championship, and that his father said that, at the time, the challenger needed to put up a stake of 2,000 pounds (about $230,000 in today's dollars), which he did not have.

According to the Dawn article, Khan then married and had five sons and six daughters. He spent the rest of his life cultivating his farmland before dying in Sargodha on April 25, 1966.

While his children and grandchildren learned to play chess, they mostly followed other careers. Ather Sultan said that his father had "told them they should do something more useful with their lives."

There were no official rankings when Khan played, but according to Chess Metrics, a widely respected website that has compiled retroactive rankings going back more than 200 years, he was No. 6 or No. 7 in the world over the last two years of his chess-playing career. Hooper and Whyld surmised that Khan overcame his lack of knowledge about openings because he was among the best players in the world in the middle-game phase and among the top two or three players in the endgame phase, along with Capablanca.

"Black & White: The Official Biography of Chess Champion Sultan Khan," by Atiyab Sultan and Ather Sultan, will be published in June.

In the Dawn article, his son and granddaughter noted ruefully that many of the players Khan defeated were anointed grandmasters and international masters by the International Chess Federation when the federation began giving out those titles in 1950, even though most of them had passed their primes. But Khan was never similarly recognized.

Perhaps the best sobriquet he could have received, however, came from a revered contemporary. Capablanca, who is often considered one of the greatest natural talents of all time, described Khan in his writings with a word that he almost never used: "genius."